THE LEGEND OF ATTIS
IN GREEK AND ROMAN ART

ÉTUDES PRÉLIMINAIRES AUX RELIGIONS ORIENTALES DANS L'EMPIRE ROMAIN

PUBLIÉES PAR

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TOME NEUVIÈME

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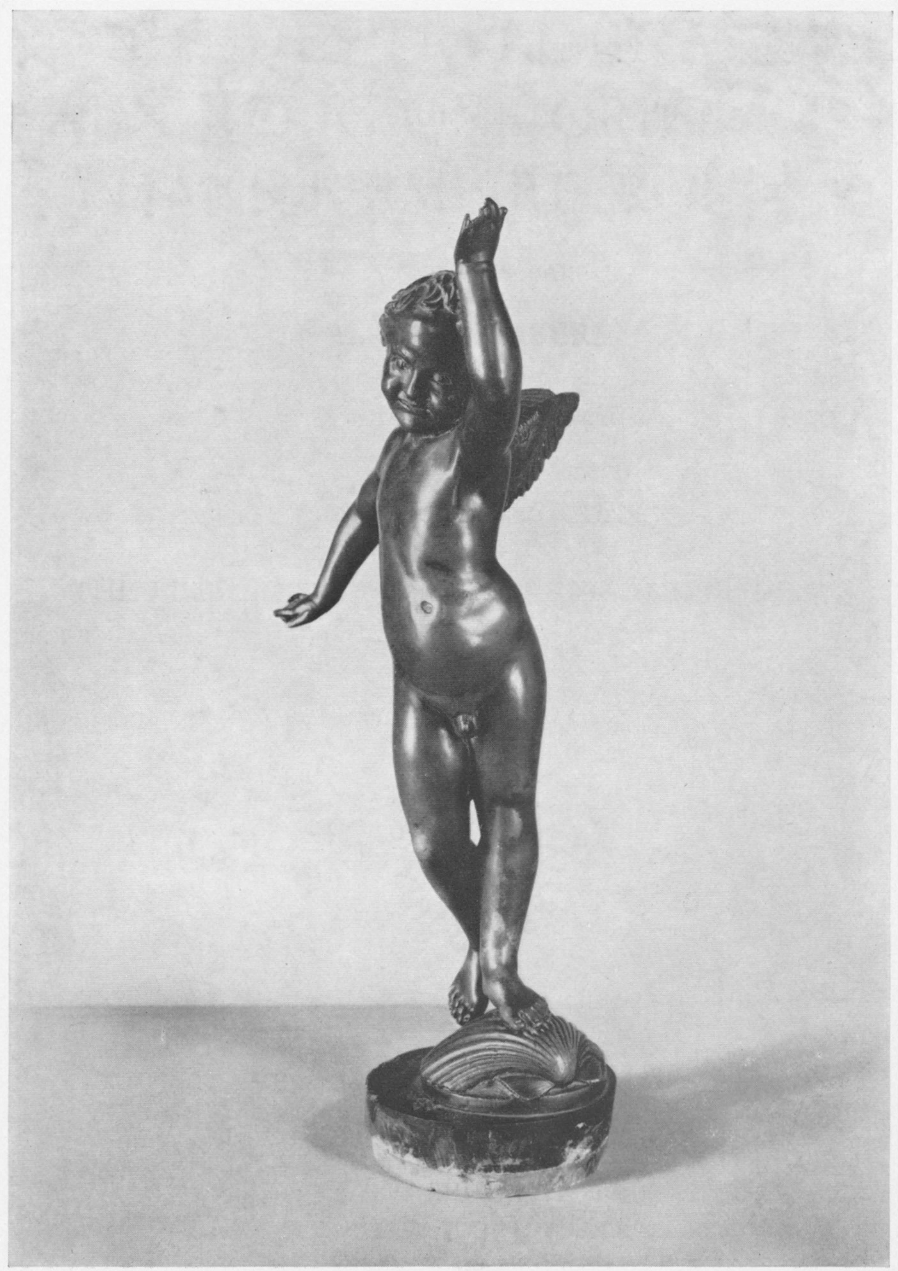
LEIDEN
E. J. BRILL
1966



M. J. VERMASEREN

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WITH A FRONTISPIECE AND 40 PLATES

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INTRODUCTION

In 1896 the great Belgian humanist Franz Cumont wrote in Pauly-Wissowa *s.v.* Attis *col.* 2251: "Die beste Untersuchung über die Denkmäler des Attis ist noch die von Zoega. Es fehlt nötig an einer Sammlung derselben und einer geschichtlichen Beschreibung der verschiedenen Typen." These words were repeated in 1903 by Hugo Hepding who, in his *Attis, seine Mythen und seine Kult*, noted all the literary texts and inscriptions dealing with Attis which were then available. More than sixty years later this gap has not yet been filled, although scholars such as Charles Picard and Pieter Lambrechts have published important studies which occasionally include new documents on the Phrygian Shepherd.

While preparing a *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque*, I found additional documents with the help of many Museum curators which allow for a better rendering of the legend of Cybele and Attis as told by the classical authors. It became clear that in these often all too limited writings the artists verified the texts, but simultaneously omitted large parts of them so that one can understand what belongs to the very heart of the story and what does not. It is obvious that in these few pages I cannot mention all the lesser types of Attis representations, but one can find them in the announced *CCCA*. However I will be grateful if this book inspires others to publish the unknown documents. This is the only way to arrive at a better knowledge of the syncretismus. As A. Dieterich said in 1902: "die gründliche Sammlung der Urkunden der einzelnen Kulte"!

CHAPTER ONE

ATTIS' BIRTH

The Greek and Roman authors generally do not mention the birth of Attis. 1) Little attention has been paid to the circumstances and the history of how he came into the world or to where he came from. Yet Attis' existence is certain and everyone knows that the drama of his passionate and tragic life was played in connection with the Mother of Gods. Still, there are few allusions to the country and the place where he was born, and to his parents. In the second century A.D. Pausanias 2) personally visited Dumae where a temple for Cybele and Attis had been erected. He tells that he did not know precisely who Attis was, but he mentions a story in the elegies of Hermesianax, 3) a contemporary of Alexander the Great: ὥς υἱός τε ἦν Καλαοῦ Φρυγὸς καὶ ὥς οὐ τεκνοποιὸς 4) ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς τεχθείη. Attis is the son of a Phrygian and in most texts both his life and his legend take place in Phrygia. 5) The name of his mother is unknown.

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1) Principal bibliography: L. Robert, *Mythe de Cybèle et d'Attis* in *Rev. Num.* (S. 3), III, 1885, 34ff; J. G. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris* in *The Golden Bough* IV, London 1907; H. Hepding, *Attis, seine Mythen und sein Kult* (RGVV, I), Giessen 1903; G. Radet, *Cybèbè*, Bordeaux 1909; H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*, Paris 1912; Fr. Cumont in PWRE *s.v.* Attis; P. Decharme in DS *s.v.* Cybèle, *cols* 1681ff; Rapp in Roscher *s.v.* Attis; J. Lagrange, *Attis et le Christianisme* in *Rev. Bibl.*, XXVIII, 1919, 419-480; Fr. Cumont, *Les Religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, Paris 1929^{4}, Chapter III; K. Prümm, *Religionsgeschichtliches Handbuch*, Rom 1954, 255ff; Strathmann in Klauser, *RAC* I *s.v.* Attis; P. Lambrechts, *Van Herdersknaap tot God* in *Verh. Vlaamse Ac. Wet.*, XXIV, 46, 1962; G. Widengren in *Hb. Orientalistik* VIII, Leiden 1963, 55ff; A. Brelich in Enc. dell'Arte *s.v.* Attis; K. Prümm in *Lex. f. Th. K.*, I, 1957, col. 1018 *s.v.* Attis und Kybele.

2) Pausanias, VII, 17 § 9-12; *cf.* also Pausanias, VII, 20 § 2. About Dyme: J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias' Description of Greece*, IV, London 1913, 135.

3) It is not likely that Pausanias used Hermesianax as his direct source. Concerning the date of Hermesianax see: PWRE *s.v.* Hermesianax *col.* 824 (F. Jacoby); W. Christ, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, München 1905, 521.

4) U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in *Hermes* XIV, 1879, 196.

5) Arnobius, *Adv. Nat.*, V, 42: *quis erit Attis ille, quem in Phrygia genitum vestrae produnt atque indicant litterae.*

Further details are lacking about Kalaos, but he might have been a king, since in other stories Attis is of royal birth. In a different way Herodotus tells the story of Attis, or Atys, [1]) the son of the famous Lydian king Croesus who unfortunately was killed by Adrastus, son of the Phrygian king Gordias, and who was not able to avoid the grip of the terrible Fate. The entire story is woven around Attis' death during the hunt of the wild boar—and this story is widespread in both Asia Minor and Greece—but Herodotus does not mention Attis' birth.

Apparently only the legend traditional in Pessinus, [2]) the official priest-state of Cybele and Attis, treated his birth more extensively. We know this ἐπιχώριος λόγος from the famous Eleusinian priest Timotheus [3]) and, through him, from Arnobius and Pausanias. Alexander Polyhistor, who came from Pergamum to Rome during the late Republican Age, was used probably by Pausanias as a source. [4]) This version of the legend is accurately restored by Hepding [5]) with the many variations and additions of both authors. In Phrygia there is an enormous rock (*petra inauditae vastitatis*) near Pessinus known by the name of Agdus which took the form of the Great Mother. [6]) While she was sleeping Jupiter wanted to make love to her (*incestis cupiditatibus*), but the Goddess refused and Jupiter, struggling to obtain (*obtinere*) her, lost his seed (*voluptatem in lapidem fudit*). [7]) According to Pausanias, however, Zeus lost his seed while sleeping. The Goddess is the *petra,* the mountain, the venerable Terra Mater. Now, against her will, in the tenth month she brings a bisexual being into the world whose name, Agdistis, is derived from Agdus. We must note that Agdistis, like Mithras, [1] is born from the rock (*petra genetrix*). In the legend this monstruous person is distinct from the goddess Agdistis, whose cult has left some traces in Asia Minor. [2]

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[1]) Herod., I, 34-45; *cf.* Xen., *Cyrop.*, VII, 2; Lucian, *Iup. conf.*, 12. In general: A. Baumeister, *De Atye et Adrasto*, Lipsiae 1860; Ed. Meyer in PWRE *s.v.* Atys; Cauer in PWRE *s.v.* Adrastos.

[2]) W. Ruge in PWRE *s.v.* Pessinus. I visited Pessinus in 1963; immediately at the entrance of the village there are two of Cybele's lions etc.

[3]) Concerning the rôle of Timotheus see: Th. Zielinsky, *La Sibylle*, Paris 1924, 81ff; Cumont, *Rel. Or.*^{4}, 223 nn. 16-17. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Γάλλος.

[4]) Paus., VII, 17; Arnobius, *Adv. Nat.*, V, 5-7.

[5]) Hepding, 37ff; 103ff; *cf.* also K. Kerényi, *The Gods of the Greeks*, London 1958, 77ff; J. Toutain in *RHR* lx, 1909, 299ff.

[6]) It is interesting to note that the mountain is connected with the oracle of Themis at Delphi.

[7]) *Cf.* Erichtonius, born from the seed lost by Hephaistus through his love for Athena: Hieronymus, *Adv. Iovinianum*, I, 7 (=Migne, *P.L.*, XXIII, 219): *narrant et gentilium fabulae Mithram et Erichtonium vel in lapide vel in terra de solo aestu libidinis esse generatos*; Preller-Robert, I, 198 n. 2; M. Fowler, *Erichtonios* in *Cl. Ph.*, 1943, 28ff.

Because of his bisexual character the new creature has the power to create by himself, to have offspring without the aid or intervention of any other being—he may be divine or mortal. Hence Agdistis has an *insana et furialis libido et ex utroque sexu.* He does not worry about the gods or mankind and he believes that he is the most powerful being in the world. In many respects he has the traits of evil god in Iranian and Indian literature, [3] and the jealous gods now use similar tricks against him. When the other gods in the divine council are too fearful and hesitate Liber, or Bacchus,—possibly in order to obtain immortality (though this is not stated)—arranges to tame him (*curam Liber in se suscipit*). The water in the spring where Agdistis drinks is mixed with wine. When Agdistis sinks into a deep sleep (*victus soporem in altissimum deprimatur*) after having drunk this mixture, Dionysus ties Agdistis' virile parts to a tree with ropes (*setis scientissime complicatis*), awakening the wild god *ipse se viribus eo quo vir erat privat.* From the blood the earth conceived a pomegranate tree 1) with fruit (*malum cum pomis punicum*) (Arnobius), or an almond tree 2) which bore fruit in due time (Pausanias).

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[1] For the story of Mithras' birth from a rock and similar legends see: R. Eisler, *Zu den nord Kaukasischen Steingeburtsagen* in *ARW* XV, 1912, 310ff; M. J. Vermaseren, *The Miraculous Birth of Mithras* in *Studia G. van Hoorn oblata* (=*Mnemosyne* 1951), 94ff (285ff).

[2] Strabo, X, 469 and J. Keil in *Philologus* VII, 1852, 198; Strabo, XII, 567; CIG III, 3886; 3993; CIG IV, 6837; Knaack in PWRE *s.v.* Agdistis; Roscher, *Myth. Lex.*, I, s.v. *Agdistis.*

[3] See the very interesting study by H. Lommel, *Mithra und das Stieropfer* in *Paideuma* III, 1949, 207ff; both Zeus and Dionysus had already used the same trick: Hepding, 105 n. 3, however, he does not mention the story of Faunus (P. Grimal, *Dictionnaire de la Mythologie grecque et romaine* s.v. *Bona Dea*). The theme deserves reexamination, especially in connection with the Phrygian king Midas: Xen., *Anab.*, I, 2.13: ἐνταῦθα ἦν παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν κρήνη ἡ Μίδου καλουμένη, τοῦ Φρυγῶν βασιλέως, ἐφ' ᾗ λέγεται Μίδας τὸν Σάτυρον θηρεῦσαι οἴνῳ κεράσας αὐτὴν; Grimal *s.v.* Midas.

The daughter of the "king", or of the river Sangarius, whose name is Nana, takes them and puts them in her lap (*carpit mirans atque in sinu reponit*). Only Pausanias recounts that the fruit immediately disappeared, but both Pausanias and Arnobius relate that the virgin daughter then became pregnant. Although Nana's father tried to kill his daughter, the Great Mother saved the future son before his birth. When the child is born 3) Sangarius still does not understand how this happened, he gives order to expose it. As in so many similar stories, the baby is saved for a second time by the Goddess 4) and under her protection he is fed by a goat. The name of the child is Attis, and both authors relate that he is beautiful and attractive. Arnobius 5) then tries to explain his name: either he is Attis because in Lydia *scituli*, i.e. handsome boys just have this name, or because *Phryges suis attagos elocutionibus nuncupant, inde Attis nomen ut sortiretur effluxit.* In this case Attis=he-goat who, like his grandfather Zeus in the Cretan Dictaean grotto, was fed by a goat.

The cult-legend of Pessinus shows many traits in common with fairy tales. From his first hours of life the new-born child has to undergo the greatest difficulties from which, however, he is saved in the most miraculous way. When terribly exposed, he receives through his contact with the earth magical forces from the earth-Mother, and moreover he is fed by animals. A more particular coincidence is that both Agdistis and Attis are children of a Virgin Mother who did not conceive them in the normal manner after intercourse. As to Agdistis, the almighty Father Zeus generated him *incestis cupiditatibus* after a long struggle (*obluctatus diu*) without

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1) Concerning the pomegranate tree see: Hepding, 106 n. 2; U. Pestalozza, *Religione Mediterranea*, Milan 1951, 1ff.

2) For Attis and the almond tree see also Hippolytus, V, 9: τὸν πολύκαρπος ἔτικτεν ἀμύγδαλος ἀνέρα συρικτάν; *cf.* Hepding, 106 n. 1; Frazer, *Comm. in Paus.*, IV, 138ff.

3) Similar stories can be found in Hepding, 107 n. 5.

4) *Cf.* Hepding, 108 n. 3.

5) Arnobius, *Adv. Nat.*, V, 6; *cf.* Lactantius, *Div. Inst.*, I, 17, 7: *formosum adulescentem.*

the desired result. No wonder that Agdistis is as furious as his Father and even more so. But Zeus and the other gods do not take any risks. They arrange matters so that Agdistis will be unable to disturb the divine order, the cosmos, but they do not kill him. The gods are afraid of the terrible "Zwitterwesen", and they do not like to burden themselves with a blood guilt. Hence they make Agdistis normal, but they do not make him a divine hero destined to great heroic deeds, no, they transform him into a woman. This means that he becomes a wife, like his mother Agdus, and thus he was identified with her lateron. 1)

Attis was born from the seed of Agdistis, which was changed into the fruits of a tree, to an unmarried daughter of Sangarius. This young mother, whose name has the well-known "Lall-form" Nana (*cf.* Mama), also seems to be identified with the earth-Goddess lateron, 2) but originally she is quite different from her and is protected by her mighty hands. Sangarius' role in the drama is that of a king who does not acknowledge his illegitimate grandson as a future successor rather than that of a river god, who is angry with his daughter, a water nymph. It must be noted that according to Pausanias Attis was οὐ τεκνοποῖος and therefore not able to procreate children, but bisexual, like Agdistis. 3) On the other hand in other texts he is clearly described as a *puer*. 4)

The artists generally neglected all the details concerning Attis' birth. Whenever the god is connected with a tree or a fruit, he is generally linked to the pine or the pine cone. 5) In Roman times Attis partially became a Sun god, but he is not represented as having been

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1) *Cf.* Marie Delcourt, *Hermaphrodite*, Paris 1958, 48f who also refers to Misè in *Hymn. Orph.*, XLII.

2) Nana: see Nanaia=Anahita. CIA II (3), 1613: 'Αρτέμιδι Νανᾷ; *cf.* Hepding, 107 n. 2; E. Meyer in Roscher, *Myth. Lex.*, I, s.v. *Anaitis*; Wagner in Roscher, *Myth. Lex.*, III, s.v. *Nana*.

3) Delcourt, *o.c.*, 49: "pour les Anciens bisexualité est devenu synonyme d'asexualité"; ἡμίθηλυς in Anacreon, 11, 2 (*ed.* Bergk).

4) Statius, *Silv.*, III, 4, 41: *Sangariusque puer*; see p. 11 n. 2.

5) Sometimes a fir and a fir cone or a date palm and a date. One exceptional case, in Glanum (see below p. 35 and Pl. XXI, 2), represents a cypress. See also J. J. Hatt, *La tombe gallo-romaine*, Paris 1951, 217; Ch. Picard in *Numen* IV, 1957, 6ff.

born from a tree like the Sun god on the Capitolian altar, [1] or from a mountain or a *saxum* (*saxigenus*; *petra genetrix*) like Mithras. [2] Attis was miraculously nursed by goats, [3] but this scene was not represented, despite the fact that the similar Cretan Zeus legend [4] and the Roman Romulus and Remus story [5] inspired so many artists. It seems that the more impressive passions of Attis' later life overwhelmed the adventures of his childhood. Yet there are allusions to his bisexual character and his female and week nature in both literature and the plastic arts, but then the artists nearly always depicted the period when he was *abscisus et spoliatus viro*. [6]

There are also allusions to Attis' goat character insofar as Pan figures sometimes occur in his company. In Ostia [7] the entrance of the Attideum was flanked by two Pans. Pan is also found on a relief from Paros [8] in the British Museum and on another relief from the Metroon in the Piraeus. [9] But in the latter case Pan accompanies the adult Attis, not the child. Another relic is a denarius of M. Cornelius Cethegus from about 104 B.C., commemorating the introduction of the Phrygian cult a century before. On the reverse side Attis is portrayed riding a he-goat. 1) The youth wears the tiara and holds the branch of a tree. Terra cotta figurines show Attis riding a ram. 2) But all these examples only show that Attis was educated among shepherds and became a shepherd himself. 3)

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[1] H. Stuart Jones, *The Sculpture of the Museo Capitolino*, Oxford 1912, 47ff; Fr. Cumont, *L'autel palmyrénien du Musée du Capitole* in *Syria* IX, 1928, 101ff; C. Pietrangeli, *Musei Capitolini. I Monumenti dei Culti orientali*, Rome 1951, 21f, no. 33.

[2] See above p. 4 n. 1.

[3] Pausanias, VIII, 17, 11; Arnobius, *Adv. Nat.*, V, 6.

[4] See H. Jeanmaire, *Couroi et Courètes*, Lille 1939; these warriors occur on many representations of the Cybele cult.

[5] J. Carcopino, *La Louve du Capitole*, Paris 1925; in the meantime other new documents were found.

[6] Arnobius, *Adv. Nat.*, 1, 41.

[7] Raïssa Calza in *Mem. Pont. Acc. Arch.*, (S. III), VI, 1946, 208ff; A. Grenier in *CRAI* 1948, 140ff; Ch. Picard in *RHR* CXXXV, 1949, 129ff; idem in *CRAI* 1949, 58ff. A marble figure of a sitting goddess between two standing Pan-figures was recently found in the new Dutch excavations on the Aventine (1964). Concerning the Cybele cult in Ostia see: Maria Floriani Squarciapino, *I culti orientali ad Ostia* (*ét. pré.* IV), Leiden 1962, Chapter I.

[8] The relief was found at the entrance of a grotto; it was last published by O. Walter in *JdOI* XXXI, 1939, 70 and fig. 25; the relief seems to have been lost.

[9] Now in Berlin: *Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen*, 256f, no. 690. Another representation from the western slope of the Acropolis (Athens, National Museum, Inv. AY 142): H. Schrader in *AM* XXI, 1896, 279 with fig.; Svoronos, *Nat. Mus.*, 623, no. 298 and Pl. CCXXXIX, 1; Will, *Rel. cult.*, 429 and fig. 75. From the same Metroon as the preceding relief in Berlin is a Cybele relief with a walking Satyr: Athens, Piraeus Museum, Inv. no. IV, 51. For Pan and Cybele see: Pindarus, *Pyth.*, III, 79; Pindarus, *Parthenion*, III (*ed.* Loeb no. 95 (63) = *ed.* Puech, IV, 178). P. Boyancé in *REL* XIX, 1941,

That the Phrygian version of the myth was both widespread and well-known in Asia Minor is also proved by a statue of Attis with an inscription found in the Lydian Thermai Theseos, the actual Hamam. 4) The statue was erected in a grotto where three niches were carved into the natural walls of the rock and decorated with representations of the Attis legend. The statue shows Attis lying outstretched on one side with his knees bent, and wearing oriental dress; the head and hands are missing. Herrmann believes that the god is depicted while resting during the winter 5) before his resurrection in springtime (see below p. 20). The inscription on the base reads: Μητέρος ἀθανάτων Φρύγιον θάλος ἀγλαὸν Ἄττην ἄντρῳ ἐνὶ ζαθέῳ, γείτονα Ναϊάδων, εἵδρυσεν κλείουσα Οὐαλέντιλλ' εὐπατέρεια (the last line of verse is illegible).

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165 n. 3 believes that Theophrastus, Περὶ ἐνθουσιασμοῦ is the source of Plutarch, *Amatorius*, p. 768F: τὰ ... μητρῷα καὶ πανικὰ κοινωνεῖ τοῖς βακχικοῖς ὀργιασμοῖς. See also the naiskos at Athens, National Museum: Svoronos, 623, no. 287 and Pl. CXX, 1556, and the well-known terra cotta relief in the Coll. Sabouroff showing a flute-playing Pan seated underneath the throne of Cybele: Furtwängler, *Coll. Sab.*, Pl. 137; Will, *Rel. cult.*, 430f and fig. 76.

1) E. Babelon, *Monnaies de la République romaine*, I, Paris 1885, 395, no. 18; Hepding, 143, n. 3; Graillot, 72; E. A. Sydenham, *The Coinage of the Roman Republic*, London 1952, 73, no. 553.

2) Müller-Wieseler, *Denkm.*, II, Pl. LXIII, no. 812; a terra cotta figurine from Bari: P. Romanelli in *Mon. Ant.*, XLVI, 1962, 285 and fig. 58. C. L. Visconti in *Ann. Ist.*, XLI, 1869, 239 mentions a lamp from Rome depicting Attis riding in a chariot drawn by four rams. The lamp seems to have been lost. The infant Dionysus on goat: R. A. Higgins, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the British Museum*, London, II, 1959, 65 no. 1713 and Pl. 42.

3) For the texts see Hepding, 103 n. 2. For the artrepresentations, see below.

4) P. Herrmann, *Ergebnisse einer Reise in Nordostlydien* in *Denkschr. Wien*, 80, 1962, 43f, no. 36 and Pl. XI, 1.

5) *Cf.* Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 69: Φρύγες δὲ τὸν θεόν οἰόμενοι χειμῶνος καθεύδειν; see also below pp. 20; 39; 33 n. 3.

Valentilla, who is known from other inscriptions 1) from the Roman period, dedicated the statue in a sacred grotto. This is not exceptional since we know from both literary and archaeological sources that the sanctuaries of Cybele are often found in natural grottoes. 2) But more interesting is the fact that the ἀγλαὸς Ἄττης 3) is mentioned as having been born in Phrygia and as being a son of the Mother Goddess herself. Hence it is most probable that Lucianus 4) also used a Phrygian source when he wrote: ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ γνήσιον υἱὸν αὐτῆς ὄντα τοῦτο δι'ἐκεῖνο παθεῖν αὐτόν φασι.

The Goddess' name is not expressly mentioned in the first line, but Lucianus makes it clear that she was none other than Rhea-Cybele. The inscription assigns the epithet γείτονα Ναϊάδων to Attis. Herrmann believes that in this context the Naiades are the Nymphs of the Baths at Thermai. However, it is also possible to consider the text a reflection of another period of Attis' myth. Ovid, 5) who also refers to the Phrygian version, says that Cybele punished Sangaritis, the daughter of the river god Sangarius, because she made Attis love her. Like the beautiful Daphne, the water nymph is metamorphized into a tree, and Cybele kills her by wounding this tree: *fatum naidos arbor erat.* Thus the texts confuse Nana, the Mother of Attis, and Sangaritis, the water nymph whom he briefly loved, because they are both Sangarius' daughters. 6) The inscription commemorates that Attis remains the neighbour of the Naiades also while venerated in Lydia.

It is clear that most classical authors were not very familiar with the legend of Attis' birth in Asia Minor. This is why there are so many ambiguities which they must try to reconcile. Ovid, who made thorough studies of mythology, seems to accept the fact that Attis is the son of Cybele, though neither his words *Cybeleius Attis,* 7) nor

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1) Herrmann, 44 n. 171 refers to Keil-Premerstein, II, 228 and *PIR* II^2, 395 no. 1622.

2) Statius, *Silv.*, I, 5, 37; see also Hepding, 124. *Cf.* CIMRM II, no. 2296 from Histria: οἰκοδομίαν τοῦ ἱεροῦ σπηλέου for the Mithraic cult.

3) ἀγλαὸς cf. *scitulus*: above p. 5 n. 5.

4) Lucianus, *Schol. ad Iupp. Trag.*, 8; Hepding, 28.

5) Ovid, *Met.*, VIII, 751; *cf.* Hepding, 113 n. 6.

6) See below p. 31.

7) Ovid, *Met.*, X, 104; *cf.* Lucianus, *Schol. ad Iup. trag.*,=Hepding, 28: ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ γνήσιον υἱὸν αὐτῆς ὄντα.

the words *Berecynthius Attis*[1] of the poet Persius, necessarily prove this. Archaeological finds, however, clearly confirm this version. P. Lambrechts,[2] the Belgian scholar who has made many studies of the Attis cult, was the first to notice some terra cotta figurines in the Istanbul Museum. These little statues show an enthroned Mother Goddess, though without Cybele's characteristic attributes (polos; lion), holding a child on her lap with both hands (Pl. I, 1). The child wears the tiara and Lambrechts correctly identifies him as Attis. Two of the figurines come from Cos; others were found in Cyprus and still another, in bronze, which I did not personally see, was discovered in Antioch. Lambrechts states that according to the Museum authorities these figures belong to the Roman period, but I am personally convinced that their style is much earlier and goes back to the archaic period.

There are other examples which may confirm Lambrechts' theory. Firstly there is a relief from the Athenian Agora (Inv. No. 1458) which was found in 1950 on the wall of a Byzantine house at the north end of the Hephaisteum in the immediate neighbourhood of the Metroon.[3] The Goddess is undoubtedly Cybele since the *patera* in her right hand is preserved. She is seated in a naiskos and with both hands she holds a naked boy on her lap who is partly covered by the folds of her mantle. The upper parts of both the Goddess and the boy are missing. It is remarkable that on this relief the child is not a baby but appears to be a few years old. Although he is already a little boy he is still under the protection of the Mother Goddess. The relief recalls the words of Diodorus[4] that babies are taken in the arms of the Goddess and are saved by her songs. The child on the Athenian relief cannot be definitely identified as Attis since the head is missing, but the child on a small terra cotta statue from Argos 1) is certainly Attis. Cybele is again seated on a throne which has a beautiful and high-sculptured back. This time the throne is flanked by two sitting lions. The child is badly damaged but the *anaxyrides* of Attis sitting on the lap of the Goddess are clearly visible. In all these cases Attis replaces the lion which usually lies on Cybele's lap, but the future shepherd is not a lion god. He is just a little boy protected, but not nursed or suckled, by the Goddess, as the young Horus is by Isis.

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[1] Persius, *Sat.*, I, 93. Accepted by Lambrechts, *Attis*, 46 n. 2.

[2] Lambrechts, *Attis*, 45f. I had the opportunity to study these terra cottas in 1961. *Cf.* Mendel, *Cat. tc.*, Pl. III, 8, 10.

[3] Unpublished. However, Mr. Homer Thompson, the Field Director of the Agora Excavations, allowed me to study and publish this valuable document, and Miss Evelyn B. Harrison was so generous as to loan me the catalogue she is preparing on the marbles of the Agora.

[4] Diod., III, 58, 3: διὸ καὶ τῶν βρεφῶν ταῖς ἐπῳδαῖς σωζομένων καὶ τῶν πλείστων ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐναγκαλιζομένων.

It is also remarkable that this type is limited to certain places in Asia Minor and Greece and is rather exceptional. The tradition was therefore not generally accepted and was unknown in western Roman art. However, it does seem to be older than Lambrechts supposes. Archaic (Cos), Hellenistic (Argos and probably Athens) and Roman (Cyprus) relics of this type have been found. He rightly notes that Attis is completely dependent on and inferior to the Goddess, and that it is not even sure that the child was already betrayed as a god. Indeed, the child is no more dependent on his mother than any other child and it is not indicated in any way whether he is a god or not. Neither the texts nor the representations help to clarify this. 2) Thus Attis only becomes important when the great Goddess is attracted to his beauty and induces him to be her inseparable lover. Thus there are only a few variations which show Attis as a child. Terra cotta statuettes from the Palatine (see below p. 19) sometimes represent Attis as a very young, child-like shepherd seated on a rock playing the *syrinx*. A terra cotta figurine from Cyme in Asia Minor 3) shows him as a child, sitting on a base and wearing a tiara and a short-sleeved tunica (Pl. I, 2).

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1) S. Charitonides in *BCH* LXXVIII, 1954, 414f and fig. 1.

2) Ovid., *Met.*, IV, 223: *Phryx puer*; see however *puer Attis* for the beloved Attis in Arnobius, *Adv. Nat.*, V, 6; V, 7: *puerum.*

3) Mendel, *Cat. tc.*, 440, no. 2994: Istanbul, Inv. no. 563. I am grateful to miss A. Rollas for her valuable help during my stay in Istanbul. Compare the fragment of a terra cotta from Tarsus: Paris, Louvre, Inv. no. S 3568 (Pl. II, 1). Similar figures of Eros, Harpocrates and Dionysus are known, *cf.* A. de Ridder, *Les Bronzes antiques du Louvre*, I, Paris 1913, 56 nos. 349, 350.
Bronze head of Attis with childish expression: de Ridder, II, 162, no. 3274 and Pl. 114, from Laconia.

A circular *fibula* is fastened on his breast and his belly is clearly visible, while his arms are raised and outstretched.

An exceptional representation is Attis, wearing a tiara and with wings fastened to his shoulders, who is sitting on a flower (unpublished (Pl. II, 2) lamp from Tarsus in the Louvre).

There is also one minor Attis representation which shows him as a child riding a cock. [1]) This alludes to his priests, the *galli*.

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[1]) Drexler in Roscher, *Myth. Lex.*, s.v. *Men*, col. and Pl. III. For Attis and the cock see also p. 16.

CHAPTER TWO

ATTIS' CHILDHOOD

Although one version of Attis' legend mentions 1) his heroic deeds as a hunter, the plastic arts seem to neglect this theme, reserving it for Adonis and Meleager. Attention is concentrated on the beauty of the *adulescens* and the fact that he is a quiet *pastor bonus* among his flock. However, many of the representations do not clearly indicate whether they depict Attis or not. Such "neutral" figures could also represent the head or bust of Ganymedes 2) or Paris, both equally beautiful shepherds, the former fortunate and the latter less so. Even the strong and heroic Mithras and, more often, the torchbearers Cautes and Cautopates are sometimes confused with Attis. 3) In general, however, Attis is clearly represented as the shepherd who is or will be the beloved of Cybele.

The artists created various types of figures:

1) Hepding, 100; see also above p. 3. *Cf.* Ovid, *Ibidis*, 505f: *sive idem, simili pinus quem morte peremit Phryx et venator sis Berecynthiades.* I do not believe that it is appropriate to reexamine the relations between Attis, Adonis and Meleager here, but the theme of these dying hunters deserves attention.

2) The stuccoartists of the so-called Pythagorean Basilica in Rome placed the ascension of Ganymedes in the centre of the central vault. The scene is surrounded by four standing Attis figures, two Amores and two palm-branches. Nearby is the representation of Paris and Helena (J. Carcopino, *La Basilique pythagoricienne de la Porte Majeure*, Paris 1926, 357ff). Confusion Paris-Attis: P. Lévêque in *Les Antiquités du Musée de Mariemont*, Brussels 1952, 94, no. G. 74 (48) and Pl. 34.

3) A good example is the marble bust in L. Budde-R. Nicholls, *A Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Sculpture in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, Cambridge 1964, 30, no. 54 and Pl. 16: "Bust of Ganymedes?" However, they point to "an exactly reversed copy of the same type" and think of the two torchbearers (W. Amelung, *Kat. Vat. Mus.*, I, 715, no. 599, Pl. 77; Vermaseren, *CIMRM* I, nos 506-7). The head is also akin to "a head of Paris or Ganymedes" (*BCR* 1883, pls 17-19, no. 13). See a bronze head in Pompeii in *NSc* 1899, 440 and fig. 1. A "neutral" shepherd on a relief in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford: A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, Cambridge 1882, 570, no. 118 (Pl. III, 1). See also: H. Schmidt, *Eine späte Attisdarstellung* in *ARW* XXXVI, 1939, 348f.

A: *Standing figures*

1) Attis, in oriental dress (tiara, [1]) tunica, mantle, *anaxyrides*), standing next to a tree or tree trunk. Sometimes his chin is resting on one of his hands and seems either to be lost in meditation or is mourning. Usually his legs are crossed. The tree is generally a pine, but the species of the tree is not always clearly indicated. In some cases the tree is reduced to a column or even—as in Pompeii [2]) and Herculanum [3])—to table legs. Attis sometimes holds a shepherd's crook. The tree is omitted in a bronze figurine from Sant'Ilario d'Enza (Pl. III, 2). [4])

2) A special variation, known from both Cyzicus and Tarsus, [5]) shows Attis standing against a column with wings on his shoulders (see also p. 46) (Pl. IV, 1).

3) A bronze figurine from Andrinopolis, [6]) now in the Louvre, also shows Attis standing against a column, but without wings (Pl. IV, 2). He holds a *syrinx* in his left hand and the handle of an indistinct

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[1]) This name is preferable to "Phrygian cap": J. H. Young, *Commagenian Tiaras: Royal and Divine* in *AJA* 68, 1964, 29ff.

[2]) Graillot, Pl. XI.

[3]) A. Maiuri, *Ercolano*, Rome 1954^4, 32 and Pl. XV, 25; E. Kusch, *Herculaneum*, Nürnberg 1960, Pl. 47.

[4]) Fr. Braemer, *L'Art dans l'Occident romain*, Paris 1963, 133, no. 135. The photograph of Mario Vaiani is printed with the permission of the Soprintendenza.

[5]) Paris, Louvre, Inv. no. T 61: L. Heuzey in *GBA* II, 1876, 401ff and figs 12-13. See the photograph (Pl. IV, 3), published with the kind permission of Jean Charbonneaux.

[6]) Paris, Louvre, Inv. no. Br. 493: A. de Longpérier, *Notice des bronzes antiques du Musée National du Louvre*, Paris 1879, 446; *Cat. Pourtalès*, 127, no. 661; A. Dumont-Homolle, *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'épigraphie*, Paris 1891, 358, no. 62, 5; Graillot, 498; *RRS* II, 471, 9; de Ridder, *Br. Louvre*, I, 72, no. 493 and Pl. 27; *BCH* 45, 1921, 457 n. 3; Cumont, *Rel. Or.*^{4}, Pl. 4, 2. A similar bronze from Aginnum in Gaul, Toulouse, Museum S. Raymond: Graillot, 448. A terra cotta from Ostia (Inv. no. 3265) shows a similar type but with the *syrinx* in the right hand: Floriani Squarciapino, *I culti orientali ad Ostia*, 17 and Pl. XV, 22. A standing Attis with both hands against his breast: K. A. Neugebauer in *AA* 1922, 104f; J. Leipoldt, *Die Religionen in der Umwelt des Urchristentums*, fig. 147. Attis standing against a column at Gloucester: D. R. Wilson in *JRS* LII, 1962, 181 and Pl. XXIV; J. F. Rhodes, *Catalogue of the Roman-British Sculptures in the Gloucester City Museum*, Gloucester 1964, 21f with Pl.; Eve and John Harris, *The Oriental Cults in Roman Britain*, Leiden 1965, 101; the authors mention the *syrinx*, but I believe to see also a sheep's head in his left arm.

object (torch?) in his right hand. As on most of the preceding representations, the belly is clearly visible.

4) More elaborate figures have various musical instruments (cymbals, *tympanum*, flutes) hanging in the tree. ¹) Some contorniates ²) show Attis with a *pedum* and a *tympanum* standing even between two trees.

5) In Amphipolis some terra cotta figurines depict Attis standing with his left arm leaning on a pillar. ³) Attis plays the flute and in front of him there is a big, running dog. Another figurine ⁴) portrays him leaning against a tree trunk. Next to him a dog is raising one of his fore-paws to his master, and on the other side there is a lamb. Some of these Attis figures have feminine forms.

6) Terra cotta figurines of Attis standing cross-legged in front of a rock. He wears only a tiara and a long shoulder cape, and holds a *syrinx* and a crook (Palatine-Reggio Calabria). ⁵) The only marble example of this group is a statue (Pl. V) found in Sarsina. ⁶)

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¹) A pine tree entwined by a snake is from the Attideum in Ostia; the tree is probably a symbol for Attis himself (R. Calza in *Mem. Pont. Acc.*, (S. III), 1946, 213 and fig. 13; R. Calza-M. Floriani Squarciapino, *Museo Ostiense*, Rome 1962, 26, no. 31 (172)). On the later taurobolium altars the tree also alludes to Attis, the bull, and the ram alludes to the taurobolium and the criobolium. Attis from Porto: *Museo Ostiense*, 23, no. 19 (159).

²) A. Alföldi, *Die Kontorniaten*, Budapest 1943, 108 no. 41.

³) Perdrizet in *BCH* XXI, 1897, 519; Robinson, *Olynthus*, XIV, 14f no. 25. A variation is offered by a terra cotta figurine from Tarsus (Paris, Louvre, Inv. no. S 1765 (Pl. IV ,3)) of a standing winged Attis leaning on a column with both hands on which he rests his head (Heuzey in *GBA* II, 1876, 403; *TK* II, 372, 7; Cumont, *MMM*, II, 437 and fig. 384. See Pl. IV, 3, reproduced with the kind permission of the Museum authorities). Still another kind comes from Aginnum in Gaul and is now in the Museum S. Raimond in Toulouse: standing Attis playing the *syrinx* and standing against a column on which he rests his left hand with three canes (Graillot in *BSAMidi*, 1901-03, 226ff; Graillot, 448 and Pl. XI, 4).

⁴) Sitte in *ÖJh* XI, 1908 (*Beibl.*), 98 and fig. 66; Robinson, *Olynthus*, XIV, 14.

⁵) P. Romanelli, *Lo scavo al Tempio della Magna Mater sul Palatino* in *Mon. Ant.* XLVI, 1962, 284f and figs. 56-57. A simplified version is the standing Attis playing the *syrinx* on a terra cotta figurine in the Toulouse Museum: Graillot, 447. Attis from Porto: *Museo Ostiense*, 23, no. 19 (159).

⁶) The statue (H. 1. 42) is made of marble from Luna and dates from the second century A.D.: S. Aurigemma in *Boll. d'Arte* 1928-1929, 382; A. Alexandri, *I municipi romani di Sarsina e di Mevaniola*, 1928, 49, n. 13; G. Mancini in *StEtr.* XIV, 1940, 148 and Tav. XIX; XX, 1; P. E. Arias,

7) Standing Attis in oriental dress, with the breast and genitals visible. He holds a *pedum* in his upraised left hand and a *tympanum* in his right one (Isla de Sancti Petri in Spain). 1)

8) Standing Attis (Pl. VI, 1) with a basket of fruit (Madrid Museum). 2) Another standing Attis carries fruits (pine cone, pomegranate and a bunch of violets) in the folds of his shoulder cape (Pl. VI, 2); he does not wear any other garment. In his left hand he probably held a shepherd's crook. This marble statue was found in the Athenian Agora near the Stoa of Attalus. 3)

9) An Attis was found in Cumae in Campania wearing oriental dress 4) which does not cover the legs or belly. In the right hand Attis holds a pine cone, or some other fruit, which he offers to a cock.

10) Another variant, also from Cumae, 5) shows Attis in the same attitude and dress bearing a basket of fruit on his head with a one-wicked lamp above it.

11) A small marble statue from Tuficum 6) apparently shows Attis holding a *cornucopia* in his left hand (compare the figure from Fianello, p. 52).

L'Attis di Sarsina in *Studi Sarsinati* 1957, 3ff with figs; I am indebt to Prof. G. Mancini for the photograph of the statue, which was reconstructed from 126 fragments. A "neutral" Attis, nude except for the tiara and a shoulder cape, and standing in a niche, was found in Cyrene: London, British Museum, Inv. no. 1469; Smith, *Cat. Sculpt.*, II, 252, no. 1469.

1) Bronze (H.0.50) found in the sea near the isle of Sancti Petri, S.E. of Cadiz: Garcia y Bellido, *Esc.*, 125, no. 126 and Pl. 97.

2) Small bronze from an unknown location (H.0.10), in the Archaeological Museum in Madrid (Inv. no. 3015): Graillot, Pl. XI, 1; R. Thouvenot, *Catalogue des figurines et objets de bronze du Musée archéologique de Madrid*, I, Paris 1957, 12 no. 18 and Pl. III reveals the figure as a genie.

3) Athens, Agora Museum, Inv. no. 344: T. L. Shear in *AJA* XXXVII, 1933, 308 and Pl. XXXVII, 2; T. L. Shear in *Hesperia* IV, 1935, 396f and fig. 23. The photograph is printed with the kind permission of Homer Thompson, the Director of the Agora excavations.

4) A. Levi, *Terracotte del Museo di Napoli*, Firenze 1926, nos 557ff; Romanelli in *Mon. Ant. Lincei* XLVI, 1962, 284.

5) Naples, National Museum, Inv. no. 146138: Levi, *Terracotte*, 115, no. 505.

6) Rome, Museo Capitolino: *NSc* 1877, 244; *BCom.*, 1877, 267; Pietrangeli, *Culti or.*, 15, no. 17 feels that the object is a *cornucopia* but it could also be a *pedum*. He is standing next to a treetrunk. Attis with a *cornucopia*: *Archaeologia* XXVIII, 1839, 40 and Pl. VIII; J. Leipoldt, *Sterbende und auferstehende Götter*, Leipzig 1923, fig. 4; J. Leipoldt, *Die Religionen in der Umwelt des Urchristentums*, Leipzig 1926, fig. 149. See also p. 52 n. 2.

12) Standing Attis [1]) with upraised hands and holding a torch (?) like the Mithraic torchbearers (Vesuvius) (Pl. VI, 3).

13) Attis standing cross-legged in oriental dress, with the belly and genitals uncovered. His hands are folded and he probably holds a *pedum* in his right hand. [2]) Below his feet is a head with *kalathus* (Sabazius). From Pompeii.

14) Standing Attis who holds the folds of his mantle in both hands (Pl. VI, 4). From southern Italy. [3])

B: *Sitting figures*

The terra cottas reveal a particularly great variety of representations of Attis seated. Among them the majority are from Amphipolis [4]) in Macedonia. Perdrizet, [5]) who was the first to publish these figurines from Amphipolis and who classified them many years ago, felt that these sitting figures were a typical Thracian variant and that they identified Attis with the Thracian Cotys. However, the finds of Pietro Romanelli in the Roman sanctuary on the Palatine [1]) definitely disprove this theory. We also know similar Attis representations from Tarsus in Asia Minor, [2]) Olynthus, [3]) Potidaea=Cassandreia [4]) and Seres=?Angis [5]) in Macedonia, Naples, [6]) Capua [7]) and southern Italy [8]) and even from some examples found in Gaul. [9]) Little is known about exactly where these figures were found. The terra cottas from Amphipolis were excavated in the necropolis, while the pieces from Olynthus "had no touch of chtonic in it", though one uncertain figurine comes from the riverside necropolis. [10]) The terra cottas from Seres were discovered in the surroundings of the town, but Myrina did not yield a single example of a sitting Attis. Like many of the representations of Cybele, the Attis figures were offered as gifts to the dead. However, they were also offered as votive gifts in the temple and were used in the home, and they certainly were often imitations of marble sculptures (Pl. VII, 1). [11]) Like the standing figures, the sitting ones always represent Attis as a shepherd; [1] this feature is placed in the foreground.

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[1]) London, British Museum: Walters, *Cat. Bronzes Br. Mus.*, 184, no. 1021; the photograph was kindly supplied by the Museum authorities. Another bronze in the British Museum (Walters, 259, no. 1597), but from an unknown location, also shows Attis standing towards the right with both hands holding an object. In the latter case the dress is arranged so that the belly remains visible. *Cf.* the curious relief from Marseille: Espérandieu, *Rec. Gaule*, I, no. 49, 11 with fig.

[2]) Naples, National Museum, Inv. no. 72592 (and not 12592): W. Rolfs, *Neapel*, I, *Die alte Kunst*, Leipzig 1905, 114 and fig. 115; Cumont, *Rel. Or.*^{4}, Pl. IV, 3. See also p. 41 n. 4.

[3]) Known from a terra cotta figure in the Louvre, Inv. no. C 5048, former Coll. Campana: E. P. Biardot, *Les terres-cuites funèbres dans leur rapport avec les mystères de Bacchus*, Paris 1872, 319, no. 2; Froehner, *Coll. Gréau*, 41, no. 151. The Pl. VI, 4 is given with the permission of Jean Charbonneaux. A nearly identical example is from Brindisi and is now in the Museo provinciale Ribezzo, Inv. no. 401: P. Lambrechts in *BBAB* XXXIX, 1964, no. 3 with fig. 3.

[4]) These terra cottas are divided among museums in Saloniki, Belgrad, Paris, Brussels and private collections. In my study of the unpublished terra cottas in the archives of the Louvre, I was kindly assisted by the Director, Jean Charbonneaux, the Curator Pierre Devambez, and Mrs. Simone Mollard-Besques, who is an outstanding specialist in this branch. See Simone Mollard-Besques, *Les terrecuites grecques*, Paris 1963.

[5]) P. Perdrizet in *BCH* XXI, 1897, 518ff and Pls. I am personally convinced that this type is much more widely spread, but these representations are not always recognized in the museums.

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[1]) P. Romanelli, *Lo scavo al Tempio della Magna Mater sul Palatino* in *Mon. Ant.*, XLVI, 1962, 201ff. Romanelli, 286 believes that the terra cottas were made in Rome. More recently a similar votive gift was found in northern Italy (S. Giorgio di Valpolicella): Lanfranco Franzoni in *L'avvenire d'Italia* 26-2-1964; Franzoni in *Vita Veronese* XVIII, 1965, 276. The photograph of which was kindly sent to me by Mr. Franzoni of Verona. A terra cotta from Gnathia in the Naples Museum, Inv. no. 7019 (Levi, *Tc. Nap.*, 86, no. 368) probably belongs to the same series.

[2]) Paris, Louvre, Inv. no. S 2874; see Pl. VIII, 3.

[3]) *AJA* XXXIX, 1935, 239, fig. 40; Robinson, *Olynthus*, XIV, 215f, no. 275 and Pl. 92.

[4]) Müller in *AA* XL, 1925, 153ff and fig. 50; Robinson, *Olynthus*, XIV, 6, no. 7; Romanelli, *Tempio Palatino*, 283 n. 1. See Pl. VII 3, published through the courtesy of Mr. M. Raumschüssel, Director of the Albertinum in Dresden.

[5]) M. Veličković, *Catalogue des terres cuites grecques et romaines*, Belgrad 1957, 94ff and Pls.

[6]) Graillot, 438, n. 8.

[7]) A. Levi, *Le terrecotte figurate nel Museo Nazionale di Napoli*, Florence 1926, 123, no. 557.

[8]) Biardot, 320.

[9]) Vienne: Graillot, 447. I have checked the terra cotta figurines in the St. Germain-en-Laye Museum, but there are no other examples.

[10]) Robinson, *Olynthus*, XIV, 122. See also above n. 3.

[11]) A statue of Attis sitting on a rock among his flock: G. Calza, *Il Santuario della Magna Mater a Ostia* in *Mem. Pont. Acc. Arch.*, (S. III), VI, 1946, 222f, no. 15 and fig. 24; Raïssa Calza-Maria Floriani Squarciapino, *Museo Ostiense*, Rome 1962, 27, no. 33 (170); Maria Floriani Squarciapino, *I Culti orientali*

Perdrizet and Robinson [2] both recognized the following principal kinds of sitting figures, to which we will add some other ones which were discovered after the finds at Amphipolis:

1) Attis in oriental dress seated on a rock with the *syrinx* against his breast and the *pedum* against his left shoulder (Amphipolis-Seres-Rome-Valpolicella (Pl. VII, 2). [3])

2) Attis seated on a rock. His left arm is covered by his mantle. The crook is not shown (Amphipolis-Potidaea [4]) (Pl. VII, 3)-Seres-Rome-southern Italy).

3) Attis, seated on the rock, supports his head with his left hand (Pl. VII, 4). [5]) Perdrizet supposed that he was sleeping, but a terra cotta figurine from southern Italy [6]) shows him in the same attitude while holding a *syrinx* in the other hand. It is therefore preferable to speak of a meditative attitude (Amphipolis-southern Italy).

4) Attis seated on the rock with a *syrinx* in his right hand and leaning on the *pedum* or the rock with his left hand (Amphipolis [7]) (Pl. VIII, 1)-Tarsus [8]) (Pl. VIII, 2)-Seres).

5a) Attis seated on the rock playing a large flute or *syrinx* which he holds with both hands. The expression on his face is either normal (Amphipolis [9]) (Pl. VIII, 3)-Seres-Rome-Naples-

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ad Ostia, Leiden 1962, 11, n. 6. See Pl. VII, 1 printed with the kind permission of Mrs. Maria Floriani Squarciapino, Soprintendente of Ostia.

[1] For the literary tradition of the *pastor* see: Hepding, 103, n. 2.

[2] Robinson, *Olynthus*, XIV, 121ff and Pl. 42.

[3] See above p. 18 n. 1.

[4] For Potidaea see above p. 18 n. 4 and Pl. VII, 3 An example from the Palatine Museum (with crook): Romanelli, 262, fig. 9188 (Inv. no. 9188).

[5] The photograph shows a terra cotta from Amphipolis, now in the Louvre Museum, Inv. no. CA 4301.

[6] Terra cotta figurine, now in the Louvre Museum without Inv. no., but from the Coll. Guimet. I do not know if the piece is identical to Biardot, 320, who mentions a meditating Attis whose left arm rests on his right hand (without *syrinx* ?).

[7] Terra cotta from Amphipolis: Paris, Louvre Museum, Inv. no. CA 1576.

[8] A terra cotta from Tarsus, now in the Louvre, Inv. no. S 2874.

[9] An example from Amphipolis: Paris, Louvre, Inv. no. S 1624-1.

Capua) or comic, in which case the cheeks are sometimes puffed (Amphipolis-Rome [1]); Pl. VIII, 4).

5b) The same as the latter two except that the *syrınx* is not held against his mouth (Amphipolis-Rome-Capua [2])).

6) Attis seated on a rock or an elevation. His garment is open revealing his belly (Rome-Cuma [3])).

7) Attis seated on a rock and holding a sheep on his shoulders. This kind of *pastor bonus* (Pl. IX) is only known from a bronze figurine found at Volubilis. [4]

8) Attis seated on a throne and with a sheep resting on his lap; he holds a scourge in his left hand. The back of the throne is decorated with a pine tree; on the lower part of the front there is the head of a bull. [5]

9) Attis seated under a tree, on a base, in mourning attitude (Pl. X, 1),[6] or seated on a base as a child (see above p. 11 and below p. 40).

A dog, a sheep, or both are often shown next to Attis (Pl. X, 2).[7] Attis' head is generally covered by a cap with two long flaps. He sometimes wears a thick mantle over the long-sleeved tunica and trousers, which indicated his solitude among his flock even during the cold winter days at the banks of the Sangarius or Gallus (Pl. X, 3).[8] Some figurines, which do not clearly show whether they represent the standing or the sitting type, give Attis a childish face. Other pieces show him without the normal tiara but with a sort of *petasus* (Pl. X, 4), [1] just like the figures who stand with a jug in the right hand next to the Goddess on a group of reliefs from Asia Minor (especially Ephesus and Smyrna) and Greece (Athens). Some artists give Attis a feminine character and they possibly allude to his castration. Others portray him with a sorrowful expression and, like many of the standing figures, they may belong to the Attis *tristis*; those with a comic character may therefore represent an Attis *hilaris* (see below pp. 39 ff).

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[1] Figurine from Campania in the Naples Museum: Romanelli, 283 and fig. 54. Pl. VIII, 4 = Palatine, Inv. no. 9183 (Romanelli, 262 and fig. 32); the photograph was kindly send by G. Carettoni.

[2] An example from Capua (Inv. no. 21145): Romanelli, 284; from Rome: Romanelli, 262 (Inv. no. 9185).

[3] A. Levi, *Tc. Napoli*, nos 557ff; Romanelli, 284.

[4] Rabat, Musée archéologique: H.o.68. Ch. Picard in *RA* (S. 6) XXVII, 1947, 229f and fig. 25; R. Thouvenot, *Statuette d'Attis criophore* in *Publications du Service des Antiquités du Maroc*, VIII, 1948, 155ff and Pl. XI, 2. I am obliged to Mrs Naima Khatib and Christiane Boube for the photographs.

[5] Alabaster figurine in the Coll. A. B. Cook: H. Chadwick, *An Attis from a Domestic Shrine* in *JThS* III, 1952, 90ff with Plates.

[6] London, British Museum, Inv. no. 4355; *BCH* XXI, 1897, Pl. VII.

[7] An example from Amphipolis: Paris, Louvre, Inv. no. CA 1351. See also the marble monument from Ostia (p. 18 n. 11).

[8] Terra cottas from Amphipolis: Paris, Louvre, Inv. no. S 1624-2 and 4302.

Both standing and sitting figures which have common traits and which were made in local workshops were derived from the same Hellenistic examples. The standing figures immediately remind us of the Praxitelean Apollo or the Satyr. The sitting Attis firstly recalls the Lysippean group of Hermes in the Naples Museum. There are also many less interesting heads and busts in terra cotta and marble, on silver dishes, medallions and coins, to which we can only give the name of Attis when the context is evident. A well-known example is the famous pair of silver dishes found in Hildesheim [2] with the busts of Cybele and Attis, who often, and especially in silverware, form a pair.

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[1] An example from the Palatine sanctuary in the Palatine Museum, Inv. no. 9210; Romanelli, 264 and fig. 33.

[2] E. Pernice-Fr. Winter, *Der Hildesheimer Silberfund*, Berlin 1901, 26ff and Pl. IV.

CHAPTER THREE

CYBELE'S PASSION FOR ATTIS

Pessinus' version of the Attis legend simply states that the Mother of the Gods and (or) Agdistis loved the extremely handsome young man. [1] Diodorus relates another version which, he says, was also told in Phrygia. He mentions the love of Cybele, [2] daughter of king Maion and His wife Dindyme, for τῶν ἐγχωρίον τινὰ νεανίσκον τὸν προσαγορευόμενον μὲν Ἄττιν, ὕστερον δ'ἐπικληθέντα Πάπαν. In Diodorus' story Attis' beautiful and handsome traits are transferred to Cybele herself, who begets a child by him.

Classical authors and other artists place the Goddess in the foreground. She is the dominant figure who bound Attis to her by eternal, pure and priestly love. [3] A relief from the Metroon in the Piraeus (Pl. XI) near Athens, [4] dedicated to Agdistis and Attis at the beginning of the third or the end of the fourth century B.C., shows Attis in oriental dress sitting on a rock with his *pedum* leaning against it. In his left hand he holds the *syrinx* and his right hand is upraised to receive a small jug [5] from Agdistis=Cybele. The Goddess is approaching him and is dressed in a low polos, a girded ionic chiton with peplos, and holds a *tympanum* in her left hand. This is the only relief which gives the interpretation of the myth [1] which Pausanias later literally repeated. At the same time the relief is the oldest one to tell of the relation between the mighty Goddess and Attis in such a quiet way. Another relief [2] from Greece or Asia Minor dated in the second century B.C. (Pl. XII, 1) shows both deities in a temple or sacred precinct. The heavy high bronze door has just opened, and a mother and her daughter are entering, bringing fruits and other small gifts to the divine Mother. Full of astonishment the mother raises her right hand, for before her very eyes she sees Cybele herself. She is standing in a majestic attitude, dressed in a nicely draped and folded chiton and himation, and she wears a low crown. The Goddess holds a large staff or sceptre in her right hand and a heavy *tympanum* in the left one. On her left side a fierce lion is crouching, looking towards his master. Before her the beloved Attis is standing, facing directly forward. He wears an oriental cap with two long flaps and is dressed in a long-sleeved tunica, a mantle and long trousers. His right hand rests on his hip and with the left hand he leans upon a long crook whose end rests on a low rock. The artist created a very mighty Goddess who is adored by simple people who bring the first fruits of the harvest to her and who, like Demeter, is known as the deity who invented fruit. [3]

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[1] Paus., VII, 17: ὡς δὲ αὐξανομένῳ κάλλους οἱ μετῆν πλέον ἢ κατὰ εἶδος ἀνθρώπου, ἐνταῦθα τοῦ παιδὸς ἔρως ἔσχεν Ἄγδιστιν; Arnobius, *Adv. Nat.*, V, 6: *hunc unice Mater deum, ore fuerat quod excellentissimo, diligebat. Diligebat et Agdestis, blandus adulto comes*.....

[2] Diodorus, III, 58 (=Hepding, 112 and 16); the neo-platonist Saloustios, *De diis et mundo*, IV, 7 recounts that Attis was found on the banks of the river Gallos and was loved by the Mother (ἐρᾷ μὲν ἡ Μήτηρ τοῦ Ἄττεως). An inscription from Asia Minor mentions βασιλεὺς Ἄτ[τ]ις νεόγα(μος): H. Chadwick in *JThS* III, 1952, 90ff with Plates. For Attis νεόγαμος see also Herod., I, 36.

[3] See Hepding, 103, n. 1 concerning Attis as the first priest of Cybele.

[4] Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Inv. no. 1612; Br. Schröder in *AA* XXXIV, 1919, 109; Kekule von Stradonitz, *Die Gr. Sk.*^{2}, 201; *Kurze Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen im Alten Museum*, Berlin-Leipzig 1922^2, 109f, no. 1612; *RRR*, II, 11; J. Leipoldt, *Die Religionen in der Umwelt des Urchistentums*, Leipzig 1926, fig. 142. I am obliged to Mrs. Huberta von Littrow for the photograph.

[5] And not a flower, as is generally believed.

Other, generally minor representations show the Goddess with her attendant in a hieratic attitude. On a relief from Smyrna [4] or

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[1] Cumont in *PWRE* s.v. *Gallos*, col. 676: "und überhaupt ist in Griechenland der fremde Gott (=Attis) kaum eingedrungen."

[2] Coll. Grimani, now in Venice, Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 118. Ch. Picard in *CRAI* 1955, 243 believes that the relief represents a scene in the theatre. See also W. H. Schuchardt in *die Antike* XII, 1936, 104, Pl. 7; Bruno Forlati Tamaro, *Il Museo archeologico del Palazzo reale di Venezia*, Rome 1953, 21, no. 17. Concerning the date it should be noted that P. Lambrechts, *Attis*, 47, cf. *BBAB* XXXIX, 1964, 164 believes that representations of Cybele and Attis together do not occur in the official Roman art before the Antonine period. Standing Cybele and Attis from Capua: Spinazzola, *Via Abbondanza*, 239 and fig. 268.

[3] Lucretius, *RN*, II, 610ff: *hanc variae gentes antiquo more sacrorum/Idaeam vocitant matrem Phrygiasque catervas/dant comites, quia primum ex illis finibus edunt/per terrarium orbem fruges coepisse creari.*

[4] Unpublished. Izmir Museum, Inv. no. 329. Possibly Roman period.

Ephesus she is seated on a throne with a lion on her right side. At her left a youth is standing wearing only a chiton but resembling Attis. The same scene occurs on a silver ring from Nacrasa in Asia Minor. [1]) Cybele, in her usual dress, is seated in her normal position on a low throne with a lion on either side. She holds a *patera* and a *tympanum* in her right and left hands, respectively. At her left Attis stands dressed in a short tunica and holding a *patera* (?) and a *vexillum* or *labrys*. A terra cotta figurine from Brindisi (Pl. XII, 2) [2]) depicts the Goddess seated on a throne. She is wearing her usual garment and holds a *tympanum* and a *patera*. A lion is crouched beneath her left hand and Attis is standing cross-legged at her right. Although they form a couple, it is still noticeable that Attis is much smaller than Cybele.

Sometimes only the bust of the divine couple is reproduced, as on the coins from Pessinus [3]) and the famous pair of silver dishes from Hildesheim. [4]) Two identical lamps from southern Italy (Pl. XIII, 1-2) [5]) show their busts with the Curetes above them. Cybele wears the mural crown and is holding a *tympanum*; Attis at her right, holds the *syrinx*. Another lamp from Herculanum, [6]) now in Dresden (Pl. XIII, 3), represents Cybele enthroned and flanked by two lions. Attis appears at one side in the background, and at the other side there is a pine tree from which cymbals are suspended. A series of bronze handles, made in Bavai 1) in the country of the Nervians, is original in that the bust of Cybele is flanked by two lions, each of whom is turned towards a bust of Attis above a pine cone.

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[1]) F. H. Marshall, *Catalogue of Finger Rings in the British Museum*, London 1907, 179f, no. 1130 and Pl. XXVIII: "1st cent. B.C.—end 2nd cent. A.D.".

[2]) Brindisi, Museo Provinciale Ribezzo, Inv. no. 400: P. Lambrechts in *BBAB* XXXIX, 1964, 164, no. 1 and fig. 1. *Cf.* a sarcophagus in Pal. Doria: *RRS* III, 241, 3; Robert, *Ant. Sarc.*, III, 67, 207; Spinazzola, *Via Abb.*, I, fig. 253.

[3]) F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Griechische Münzen*, München 1890, 226 (750), no. 748 and Pl. XIII, 7. Attis' tiara is decorated with stars (*cf.* below p. 33 n. 2). Concerning the cult of Attis in Pessinus see: W. Ruge in *PWRE* s.v. *Pessinus*, cols 1109f.

[4]) See above p. 21 n. 2.

[5]) Trieste, Museo Civico di Storia ed Arte, Inv. no. 4059; Graillot, 326, n. 3 and Pl. VII. I received the photograph from the Curator, Laura Ruara. Another similar piece, complete but unpublished, is in the Louvre, Inv. no. Campana 4603, see Pl. XIII, 2. *Cf.* also Maria Floriani Squarciapino, *Culti Ostia*, 17 n. 2.

[6]) There are two examples from Ercolano. One is at Ercolano, Inv. no. 194 = Piroli-Piranesi, *Antiquités d'Herculaneum*, 1805, VI, Pl. VI, 4; Peterson, *Cults Campania*, 290. Another is now at the Staatliche Museen in Dresden, the Albertinum, Inv. no. 4⁴ 42/380 and was published in *Antichità di Ecolano*, VIII, 83. The photograph is reproduced with the permission of Mr. M. Raumschüssel. Pl. XIII, 4 = Louvre, Inv. no. 4585 (MN 852) from Cyrenaica.

There are also more elaborate coins and contorniates from the Antonine period or later. Some of them 2) portray Cybele enthroned in her temple between the two lions. Outside the temple, at the right side of the entrance, Attis is standing in oriental dress beside a tree. Another series 3) shows the beautiful and majestic composition of Cybele, seated on a throne with a high back and footstool, flanked by two lions who, as her bodyguard are turning their heads fiercely towards her (Pl. XIV, 1). The Goddess holds a *tympanum* in her right hand and an olive or pine branch, next to which two cymbals are visible in the left one. At her right Attis is standing as an attendant with a *syrinx* in his outstretched right hand and the *pedum* in the other one.

Two bronze plates 4) which were found at Rome, and whose use remains uncertain, paint a more elaborate picture of Cybele and Attis. The Goddess is again seated on a high throne decorated at

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1) a) Piece from Gouy-lez-Pieton: Fr. Cumont, *Poignées de bronze décorées de bustes de Cybèle et d'Attis* in *Ann. Soc. Arch. Brux.*, XXII, 1908, 219ff with Pls; Fr. Cumont, *Comment la Belgique fut romanisée*, Brussel 1914, 75 and fig. 46; M. J. Vermaseren in *RAEst* V, 1954, 122 and fig. 15.

b) Bavai: *Gallia* VI, 1948, 393, n. 4; G. Fayder-Feytmans, *Recueil des bronzes de Bavai* (Suppl. VII *Gallia*), 1957; *RA* 1964, 122f and fig. 7.

2) Cohen, II, 439, no. 306; Lambrechts, *Attis*, 47 and Pl. 13; A. Alföldi, *Die Kontorniaten*, Budapest 1943, 107, no. 39.

3) Cohen, II, 369, no. 1029; Roscher, *Myth. Lex.* s.v. *Kybele*, col. 1647 and fig. 2; F. Gnecchi, *I medaglioni romani*, Rome 1912, 25, no. 8 and Pl. 57, 4; 41, no. 21 and Pl. 68, 7; Lambrechts, *Attis*, 47 and Pl. 14. Pl. XIV, 1 is taken from G. E. Rizzo, *La Base di Augusto*, Napoli 1933, Pl. B 6.

4) Both in the Staatliche Museen in Berlin:

a) Inv. no. 2005, b: Friederichs, *Kl. Kunst*, no. 2005, b; Urlichs in *Jb Ver. Altk. Rh.*, XXIII, 1856, Pl. 3.

b) Inv. no. 8169 together with Inv. no. 8170 (Sabazius): *AA* VII, 1892, 111, no. 15; Ch. Picard in *Mon. Piot* 49, 1957, 59, fig. 7, suggests that this is an *occabos* and not a diadem; Ch. Picard in *RA* 1961, 143 and fig. 6. *Cf.* a similar scene on the ὄκκαβος of the Cybele priest from Portus: W. Technau in *AA* 46, 1931, 655ff and fig. 12.

the top of the back by two figures holding a crown above her head. The throne is flanked by two lions, and a third lion is resting on the Goddess' lap. Cybele apparently holds a flower in her upraised right hand. She is enthroned in a temple with two Corinthian capitals. Two cymbals and two flutes hang against the rear wall, and in the pediment the radiate head of Sol with his *quadriga* can be seen. The Goddess is seated between two standing males. At her right side is Hermes, who has a *petasus*, a *caduceus* and a purse as attributes. Attis stands at her left and, like the Goddess herself, he holds a flower in his upraised right hand.

The latter representations all date from the Roman imperial period. It is only at the end of the fourth century A.D. that one again finds the Goddess and her lover on two taurobolic altars from Athens (Pl. XV). ¹) One dates from 387 A.D., and the other is somewhat earlier. They depict the same scene with slight differences on one of the three sculptured sides. Underneath a baldachin formed by a large *velum*, hanging and suspended between two pine trees, Cybele is sitting on a throne with a footstool. The Goddess is dressed normally (polos, chiton, himation), and she holds a large *tympanum* in her left hand. To the right of the throne a lion is crouching. Cybele's right hand rests on the shoulder of Attis who, in oriental dress, is standing next to her facing forward. With his right hand he leans on a *pedum*. The two trees are respectively adorned with two cymbals and a *syrinx*. A large *tympanum* is also leaning against the tree at Attis' right. Both trees bear fruit. These two representations from Athens are the latest in this series. Like the writings of the Emperor Julian, they demonstrate the tendency to tell as much as possible about the symbolism of the couple. At the same time they show connections with the Eleusinian cult which, however, is of an earlier date, and they desperately attempt to revive the oriental cults.

But the enamoured couple is not always represented in such a quiet and ceremonious manner. When the autumn and winter

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¹) Athens, National Museum, Inv. nos 1747; 1746; J. N. Svoronos, *Das Athener Nationalmuseum*, I, Athens 1908, 477ff and Pl. LXXX; J. Leipoldt, *Die Religionen in der Umwelt des Urchristentums*, Leipzig 1926, fig. 152. During my stay at Athens I was not able to obtain permission to examine the representation personally.

storms start to blow, and the trees bow under the vigour of the wind gods, the Goddess is riding through the forest. Then she is the wild and restless Goddess who gives no rest to other beings, men, beasts and plants. Nature, like the Goddess, is in ecstasy. Some coins which propagandize her cult show her riding with Attis in a chariot drawn by lions (Pl. XIV, 3-4). ¹) On the lid of a silver toilet case from Olynthus ²) she stands alone in her chariot, preceded by Hermes and Persephone, descending victoriously into the Netherworld. A taurobolic altar (Pl. XVI) from Rome, now known only from designs and dedicated on 26 February 295 A.D. by L. Cornelius Scipio Orfitus, ³) depicts the Goddess seated in a chariot with two lions. Cybele, showing off her ornate dress and beating the *tympanum*, is looking for Attis who is listening attentively for her arrival which is announed by the terrible roaring of the lions. The shepherd leans cross-legged against a pine tree in which cymbals, pine cones and a bird are visible. Attis has put the crook aside and also taken a *tympanum* in his hands in order to be ready to accompany the Goddess at her order and to bewilder nature with her.

The most impressive scene of her wild journey, however, is found on the lid of a silver ⁴) box found at Parabiago (Pl. XVII)

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¹) A. Alföldi, *Die Kontorniaten*, Budapest 1943, 107, no. 36; A. N. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta, *The Contorniates in the Royal Coin Cabinet at the Hague* in *Mnemosyne* (S. IV), IV, 1951, 84, no. 5=Alföldi, 153, no. 222 and Pl. XII, 10. Pl. XIV, 3-4 is published with the permission of the authorities of the Royal Coin Cabinet. See also P. Ch. Robert, *Mythe de Cybèle et d'Attis* in *Rev. Num.*, III, 1885, 34ff and Pl. V.

²) Robinson, *Olynthus*, IV, 58; 94; *Olynthus*, X, 160ff with figs 17, a, b: "not later than the end of the 5th cent. B.C.".

³) CIL VI 505, Villa Albani. The design incorrectly reads L. Cornelius Oreitus instead of Orfitus; G. Zoega, *I bassi-rilievi antichi di Roma*, I, 1808, Pls XIII-XIV; J. Leipoldt, *Die Religionen in der Umwelt des Urchristentums*, fig. 151; H. Gressmann, *Die orientalischen Religionen im hellenistisch-römischen Zeitalter*, Berlin-Leipzig 1930, 68f and fig. 28; V. Spinazzola, *Pompei alla luce degli Scavi nuovi di Via Abbondanza*, I, Roma 1953, fig. 258. See Pl. XVI, published with kind permission of the German Archaeological Institute, Rome. The Scipiones already favoured the Cybele cult during the second Punic war. See also P. Grimal, *Le siècle des Scipions*, Paris 1953.

⁴) The many silver votive gifts of the Cybele cult, which are also mentioned in the inscriptions, are notable (Ostia: Maria Floriani Squarciapino, *I culti orientali ad Ostia*, Leiden 1962, 10).

near Milan. [1]) The representation, which dates from the Antonine period when the cult was flourishing, reflects the symbolic conceptions of the lofty Goddess among the Stoics (Cornutus) and the Epicureans (Lucretius) and, at the same time, anticipates the neo-platonic thoughts of the hymn to the Mother of the Gods a century later. The artist himself is clearly impressed by the wild enthusiasm which the divine Cybele and Attis arouse. Both are seated in a chariot which is decorated with a Maenad who, with hands uplifted, is dancing in a frenzy. The Goddess, as the more important of the two, is seated *ad dextram* of Attis. She is dressed in a chiton and mantle, and her crowned head is veiled. In her right hand she holds a long staff and her elbow leans upon a *tympanum*. Attis, in oriental dress, is looking at her respectfully. He is seated in his ordinary shepherd's position, holding a long, bent crook in his left hand and a *syrinx* in his right hand. The four lions who draw the chariot run as quickly as possible. The chariot is surrounded by three Curetes who now, like once during Zeus' childhood in Crete, ecstatically beat their shields with their short daggers and dance like Maenads. All the cosmos and nature are in movement. On the upper rim of the disc Sol, standing in a *quadriga* with right hand upraised to whip the horses and preceded by Phosphorus, is ascending to heaven. On the other side Luna is descending in a *biga*, drawn by two oxen and preceded by Hesperus. Underneath the chariot of Cybele and Attis, one sees the four Seasons, three of whom are pictured as children. Summer is dancing and holds a bunch of corn ears on his left shoulder and has a *harpè* or sickle in his right hand; Autumn shows a bunch of grapes in his upraised right hand; Spring bears a sheep on his shoulders; Winter, however, is a heavily draped and veiled woman carrying fruit and the branch of a tree. The fertility which Cybele brings is also accentuated by the reclining, half-naked Tellus who, as on the Ara Pacis [1]) in Rome and the corresponding figure from Carthage, is surrounded by two nude children. One of them grasps his mother's right shoulder; the other sits on the border of a *cornucopia* which is entwined by a serpent and completely filled with grapes. Both children point to Cybele's chariot with the index finger of the right hand. At the other side of the four Seasons two river nymphs (of the Sangarius?) are reclining. One of them rests her left elbow on a large water vessel. Between Tellus and the nymphs lies the sea water of the Ocean, symbolized by a bearded Triton with an oar in his left hand and a horned Nereide at his left. In this way Cybele not only reigns over the elements of Water, Heaven and Earth, but also governs Time. Before her chariot and above a lizard and a sea dog there is a young naked man. Like Atlas, with two upraised hands he sustains an oval ring whose border is engraved with the signs of the Zodiac. The youth is standing inside this ring, clasping it with his uplifted right hand. He has long hair, his body is only partially wrapped in a mantle, and he holds a long staff in his left hand. He is the youthful god of Time, [2]) who more commonly occurs in the Mithraic mysteries. Next to this Atlantic figure, and thus in the West (at the right side of Luna), a thin obelisk is erected on a finely chiselled and circular base. A large serpent entwines the shaft and the scene thus represents the tree of Life. [3]) When Cybele, in her triumphal chariot, runs from the side of the Sun towards this tree, she is going from East to West (*ab Oriente ad Occidentem*) and everywhere she brings the products of her fertilizing power. [4]) At the same time she starts from the side of light and life on her way to darkness and death.

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[1]) O. Brendel in *AA* L, 1935, 521ff; Alda Levi in *Critica d'Arte*, II, 1937, 218ff and Pls 155-157; C. Albizzati in *Athenaeum* XV, 1937, 187ff and Pl. 2, 1; A. B. Cook, *Zeus* III (2), 1127; Levi Spinazzola, *La Patera di Parabiago* in *Opere d'Arte*, V, 19; P. Friedländer, *Documents of Dying Paganism*, Berkeley 1945, 45 and Pl. 15. This precious box is in Milan, Galleria Brera; photo Alinari, no. 1938. See also A. Brelich in *Enc. d'Arte Ant.*, s.v. *Attis*, fig. 1139.

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[1]) For the typology see: G. Moretti, *Ara Pacis Augustae*, Rome 1948, 232ff.

[2]) *Cf.* the mosaic from Sentinum which shows the same combination of the youthful god of Time and the Earth goddess: Engelmann in *AZ* XXXV, 1877, 9ff and Pl. III; Cumont, *MMM*, II, 419f, no. 298 and fig. 350.

[3]) *Cf.* the pine tree entwined by a snake and dedicated by Cartilius Euplus in the Metroon at Ostia: Raïssa Calza, *Sculture rinvenute nel Santuario* in *Mem. Pont. Acc. Arch.*, (S. III), VI, 1946, 212f, no. 4 and fig. 13; Raïssa Calza-Maria Floriani Squarciapino, *Museo Ostiense*, Rome 1962, 26f, no. 31 (172).

[4]) Concerning this theme see: M. J. Vermaseren—C. C. van Essen, *The Excavations in the Mithraeum of the Church of Santa Prisca in Rome*, Leiden 1965, 179ff. It is not necessary to interpret the contorniates and the silver

The artists finally show that the lion Goddess, who is riding the lion herself, also hands over this power to her beloved Attis. 1) But such portrayals of Attis riding the lion are rare and exceptional. They are only known from a marble statue (Pl. XVIII, 1) found in the Attideum in Ostia 2) and a bronze figurine (Pl. XVIII, 2) from Egypt, now in the Hildesheim Museum. 3) However, Attis' connections with the lions are also expressed in another way: 4) a bronze ornament from Nicomedia 5) in Asia Minor shows the bust of Attis and two curved handles (attached to his shoulders), each ending in a lion's head; a bronze from Etruria, now in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, 6) shows Attis' bust above a lion's paw.

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lid from Parabiago as ascensions to heaven, as most authors do; it is more likely that they depict a cosmic journey.

1) For the Lucianus texts see *De Sacrificiis*, 7 and *Deorum dialog.*, XII (=Hepding, 27f), where Eros is also mentioned as a good lion rider. For the theme in plastic art see: J. Ph. Lauer-Ch. Picard, *Les statues ptolémaïques du Sarapieion de Memphis*, Paris 1955, 227ff which shows clearly how much the Dionysiac cult also influenced the Cybele cult in this respect.

As to the more common representations of Cybele riding the lion, see *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque.*

2) Raïssa Calza in *Mem. Pont. Acc. Arch.*, (S. III), VI, 1946, 218, no. 11; Raïssa Calza-Maria Floriani Squarciapino, *Museo Ostiense*, 27, no. 32 (161). Mrs. Maria Floriani Squarciapino gave me permission to publish the photograph.

3) Small bronze statue from Galjub, now at Hildesheim, Pelizaeus Museum, Inv. no. 2259; G. Roeder-A. Ippel, *Die Denkmäler des Pelizaeus-Museums in Hildesheim*, Hildesheim 1921, 154; Rostovtzeff, *Soc. Ec. Hist.*, II, Pl. LXXXI, 3; J. Leipoldt, *Die Rel. in der Umwelt*, fig. 146. I am grateful to the Director of the Museum for permission to reproduce the photograph.

4) For Attis riding the ram, see above p. 8 n. 2; for Attis riding a cock, see p. 12 n. 1.

5) O. Koyunoglu in *Ann. Mus. Ist.*, VI, 1953, 83ff.

6) Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Inv. no. 117 (Coll. Castellani). *Cf.* M. Renard in *Les Antiquités du Musée de Mariemont*, Brussels 1952, 127, no I 18 (327) and Pl. 47: "fin du IIIe siècle, début du IIe".

CHAPTER FOUR

ATTIS SESE MUTILANS ET MORIENS

The Lydian version of Attis' life portrays him as an eunuch or eunuch-priest of the Goddess who initiates the population into her cult. With variations, the authors agree that he was later killed by a boar and that he was buried in either Lydia or Phrygia (Pessinus). 1) Although the Phrygian myth and Ovid 2) also speak of the episode of Attis the hunter, the boar does not cause his death. Nor do Greek or Roman artists portray him this way. Instead, they found their inspiration in the version of the legend traditional in Pessinus, and then they only depicted the most important scene: his emasculation and death. They silently pass over his marriage to the daughter of the king of Pessinus (Midas or Gallus) and his love for the nymph Sagaritis, 3) the daughter of the river Sangarius. But the classical authors also tell of the disastrous consequences of his contact with another woman.4) The Goddess drives Attis insane and, in his Bacchic frenzy, he mutilates himself with a stone 5) under a pine 6) or fir tree 7) at the banks of the river Gallus. 8)

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1) According to Herodotus (see p. 3 n. 1) Attis was a son of Croesus, and Pausanias, I, 4, 5 therefore located his grave in Pessinus; Arnobius follows the same tradition; Diodorus, III, 59 says that his body disappeared.

2) Ovid, *Ibis*, 507f.

3) Another tradition in Arnobius, *Adv. Nat.*, V, 7: *virgo sponsa quae fuerat, quam Valerius pontifex iam nomine fuisse conscribit.* See, however, the interpretation of Ch. Picard, *La rencontre sur le mont Dindymon et la passion d'Attis: d'après un cratère de bronze hellénistique* in *RA* 1960, 63-72 with figures.

4) Paus., VII, 17: καὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα ἀπέκοψε μανεὶς ὁ Ἄττης; Lactantius, *Div. Inst.*, I, 17, 7: *deum mater amavit formosum adolescentem et eundem cum paelice deprensum exsectis virilibus semivirum reddidit.*

5) Catullus, 63, 5: *devolvit ile acuto sibi pondere silicis*; *cf.* Plutarch, *Nic.*, 13; Ovid, *Fasti*, IV, 237; Pliny, *NH*, XXXV, 48, 165: *testa Samia.*

6) Pine tree: Arnobius, *Adv. Nat.*, V, 39; Servius, *Ad Aen.*, IX, 115; Lactanti Placidi, *Comm. in Stat. Thebaid.*, X, 175. See also the archaeological examples.

7) Fir: Arnobius, *Adv. Nat.*, V. 7.

8) Gallus: Stephanus *s.v.* Γάλλος=Hepding, 74; *cf.* 111.

The marvellous Ovid [1] even knows his last words: *merui, meritas do sanguine poenas. Ah, pereant partes, quae nocuere mihi,* which Arnobius renders in prose: *tibi Agdesti haec habe, propter quae motus tantos furialium discriminum concitasti.* [2] Flowers, [3] especially violets, [4] spring from his blood. According to Statius [5] the blood coloured the Synnados marble in his grotto red. In both *Metamorphoses* and *Ibis,* the poet Ovid [6] says that Attis is changed into a pine tree [7] and thus never really died, but Pausanias, Arnobius and Servius are all familiar with his death and his grave. Attis dies and he will never again exist in his former beautiful state: *Iuppiter rogatus ab Agdisti ut Attis revivisceret non sinit. Quod tamen fieri per fatum posset, sine ulla difficultate condonat, ne corpus eius putrescat, crescant ut comae semper, digitorum ut minimissimus vivat et perpetuo solus agitetur e motu* (Arnobius, V, 7). [8] Thus only two parts of his body remain in life: his smallest finger will always be in motion and his hair will grow for ever. The Goddess herself institutes a cult for Attis as well as an annual feast, consisting of the *tristia* and *hilaria.*

There are various types of portrayals of Attis' *eviratio.* From Asia Minor, where the myth originated, [9] the Roman rock reliefs from Hamam [10] (see also p. 8) and the coins from Cyzicus [11] are the best examples. It is regrettable that the Hamam reliefs were never published or photographed very well by either Keil, von Premerstein, or Herrmann in his recent book. Hepding felt that Attis was pictured lying on a rock under a fir tree after his emasculation and I am inclined to agree with him. Herrmann recently published the afore mentioned (p. 8) small statue also from Hamam which shows Attis in oriental dress reclining on a base. This is probably the same emasculation scene, but Attis' bust, head and attributes have been lost and the scene remains uncertain. The coins of Antoninus Pius, M. Aurelius and Commodus from Cyzicus however, clearly show the reclining Attis (Pl. XIV, 2) with minor variations. 1) Even if this is a representation of a cult-statue to which offerings are made, we are sure to find an allusion to Attis' principal but terrible deed. He is lying on a *klinè* and sometimes a tree is indicated. His *tunica manicata* loosely covers his body and, like the *anaxyrides*, is decorated with stars. 2) In his outstretched right hand he holds a *patera* and his left arm leans upon a *cista*. Two totally exceptional traits occur on these coins: firstly, his crossed legs are bound together with a chain and secondly, one finger of his left hand is especially pronounced. H. von Fritze 3) seems to be right when he does not connect the chain to the myth of Agdistis, who was bound by Dionysus (see p. 4). Instead, he refers to the version of the Paphlagonians, as told by Plutarch, about the Phrygian nature god, certainly to be identified with Attis, who is bound and sleeps during the winter in order to be loosened and awaken in spring. Von Fritze considers the finger an

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[1] Ovid, *Fasti,* IV, 239f; *cf.* Hepding, 114. [2] Arnobius, *Adv. Nat.,* V, 7.

[3] Ovid, *Fasti,* V, 227. [4] Arnobius, *Adv. Nat.,* V, 7.

[5] Statius, *Silv.,* I, 5, 36ff. [6] Ovid, *Met.,* X, 103ff; Ovid, *Ibis,* 505f.

[7] See the altar from Périgueux (= *Vesunna*) on which Attis' bust becomes pine tree (Ch. Picard in *Numen* IV, 1957, 12f and Pl. I with bibliography).

[8] *Cf.* Pausanias, l.c.: καὶ οἱ παρὰ Διὸς εὕρετο μήτε σήπεσθαί τι Ἄττη τοῦ σώματος μήτε τήκεσθαι. *Cf.* Arnobius, V, 14: *cum Iove locutus est Agdestis, ut amato restitueret vitam: adnuere Iuppiter recusavit, quia fatis potentioribus prohibebatur, at ne esset omnino durissimus, unam largitus est gratiam, ne putore corpus dissolveretur ullo, succrescerent comae semper, minimissimus digitorum solus ut in corpore viveret, solus motus perpetuos exhiberet.*

[9] Only more thorough archaeological examination of Pessinus may offer better evidence on this aspect of the Attis legend in art.

[10] Hepding, 100, n. 7; *cf.* Le Bas, *Itinéraire,* Pl. 55; Le Bas, *Voyage archéol.,* 43f; Rapp, 717; Preller-Robert, 647, n. 5; Pottier-Reinach, *Nécr. Myrina,* 407, n. 6; Roscher, *Myth. Lex.,* II, col. 2868; Daremberg-Saglio, I, 1688; J. Keil-A. v. Premerstein in *Denkschr. Ak. Wien* (Phil.-hist. Kl. 54), 1911, 122ff; Hermann in *Denkschr. Oest. Ak.* (Phil.-hist. Kl. 80), 1962, 43 and Pl. XI, 3.

[11] H. von Fritze in *Nomisma* IV, 1909, 30ff: the coins therefore date from a period when the Attis cult flourished.

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1) M. Fritze in *Nomisma* IV, 1909, 33f, no. 4 and Pl. III, 6 (Berlin), which is reproduced here. London: *Cat. Mysia*, 41, 175, Pl. XI, 1.

2) Hippolytus, Ref., V, 9: ποιμὴν λευκῶν ἄστρων; *cf.* Julian, *Or.*, V p. 165: ἀστερωτὸς πῖλος; Julian, *Or.*, V p. 171, A: ὁ γάρ Ἄττις οὗτος ἔχων τὴν κατάστικτον τοῖς ἄστροις τιάραν; Salustius, *De diis*, 4; see also the coins from Ancyra (F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Griechische Münzen*, Munich 1890, 226 (750), no. 746 and Pl. XIII, 6) and from Pessinus (Ch. Lenormant, *Gal. Myth.*, 15; 88 and Pl. XIV, 10; Imhoof-Blumer, 228 (752), no. 753) as well as some bronze figurines described below p. 51.

3) H. v. Fritze, *o.c.*, 30; Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 69: Φρύγες δὲ τὸν θεὸν οἰόμενοι χειμῶνος καθεύδειν, θέρους δ' ἐγρηγορέναι, τοτὲ μὲν κατευνασμούς, τοτὲ δ' ἀνεγέροεις βακχεύοντες αὐτῷ τελοῦσι. Παφλαγόνες δὲ καταδεῖσθαι καὶ καθείργνυσθαι χειμῶνος, ἦρος δὲ κινεῖσθαι καὶ ἀναλύεσθαι φάσκουσι.

allusion to Iupiter's favour to the Mother of the Gods, although it is also possible, as Hepding believes, that the finger might be a symbol for the *penis*. On a large medallion in the form of a temple which decorated the breast of a Roman archigallus, [1]) Attis is reclining on his left arm (Pl. XIX, 1). In the left hand he holds a *pedum*. He is dressed in a short tunica and oriental cap and his legs are outstretched. The design does not clearly indicate whether or not Attis is sleeping, but since the ornament is worn by an archigallus it is more likely that he is lying on the ground after the emasculation. A terra cotta lamp (Pl. XIX, 2) from Sparta, [2]) also from the Roman imperial period, shows Attis lying under a pine tree surrounded by such attributes as flutes, *syrinx*, a *tympanum* (?) and cymbals (?). He wears only a mantle and an oriental cap and he holds a *pedum* in his right hand. A marble figure from Ostia [3]) shows a similar Attis lying on the soil with a *syrinx* and a *pedum* in his hands. Flutes, a pine and *crotala* are shown in the field. Finally, on the left side of a small stone statue from Brindisi, [4]) which was recently published by P. Lambrechts, Attis is seen lying or seated under a pine tree. His attributes, a *syrinx* and a *pedum*, are also shown. This statue which is preserved in the Brindisi Museum, represents Cybele on the front enthroned between two lions. The two Dioscures are shown beneath the Goddess. These three examples do not clearly show whether Attis is taking a rest or is portrayed after the *eviratio*. The artists do not expressly indicate that he mutilated himself (Pl. XX). [5]) However, this episode is pictured on a series of representations which all date from Roman imperial times. A marble statue from the Attideum in Ostia (Pl. XXI, 1) shows Attis dying on the rocks underneath a pine tree. [1] He lies on the banks of the river Gallus, indicated by the mask of the river god. Several animals, each having a special connection with Attis' drama, surround him. The he-goat alludes to Attis *pastor*, the cock to the *gallus*, the cow and the bull to the *taurobolium*. Attis leans his head on his right arm and he holds a *pedum* in the right hand. His left arm is stretched out and between his legs [2] one sees the testicles which he cut off with a short knife. Next to the pine tree stands another young Attis who will replace the dead one.

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[1]) Now lost: Montfaucon, *Ant. Expl.*, I, Pl. 4=Reinach, RS, II, 506, 6; Blinkenberg, *Arch. Studien*, 113 and fig. 43; Hepding, 128; J. Keil in *ÖJh.* XVIII, 1915 (*Beibl.*), 74f and 47; Ch. Picard, *Les apprêts de l'ordination d'un galle* in *RHR* CII, 1930, 5ff.

[2]) Furtwängler, *Samml. Sabouroff*, I, Pl. LXXV, 4 from which Pl. XIX, 2 has been taken; the piece seems to have been lost.

[3]) Raïssa Calza, *o.c.*, 217, no. 9, fig. 18; Squarciapino, 11, n. 6; Calza-Squarciapino, *Museo Ostiense*, 28, no. 39 (Inv. no. 173). I am obliged to Mrs. Maria Floriani Squarciapino for the photograph.

[4]) Fr. Chapouthier, *Les Dioscures au service d'une déesse*, Paris, 1935, 247, fig. 38; R. Jurlaro, *Santa Tecla tra i leoni* in *L'Arte* XXV, 1960, 3ff and figs 1-9; P. Lambrechts in *BBAB* XXXIX, 1964, 164ff and figs 4-6. The photographs and information were kindly offered by Mrs. Benita Sciara, Curator of the Museum Ribezzo in Brindisi.

[5]) A representation of a lying Attis on a lamp from unknown location

In the same attitude as on the Cyzicus coins, Attis is found lying under a palm tree on a relief from Glanum [3] in Gallia (Pl. XXI, 2). The god is almost completely naked and wears only a shoulder cape and a tiara. His legs are crossed but not chained. He reclines on his left arm and shoulder and in his left hand he holds the *pedum*. He is an Attis *pudens*, because he covers the *genitalia* with his right hand so that they are not visible. At the right side of the palm tree still another, smaller and younger tree is seen with a *tibia* and a *cornu* above it. In the field before Attis a *syrinx* is suspended against the rocky wall. On this side there is also a cypress, the solar tree, standing alone against the landscape.

The most representative example of this series, however, is the well-known Attis from Ostia, [4] found in the Attideum as early as 1867/68 by Visconti and now preserved in the Lateran Museum

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and now in the Louvre at Paris (Inv. no. 53) also belongs to this series. See Pl. XX, printed by courtesy of Pierre Devambez.

[1] Raïssa Calza, 223f, no. 16 and fig. 25; Squarciapino, 11 and Pl. III; Calza-Squarciapino, *Museo Ostiense*, 29, no. 44 (Inv. no. 163) and fig. 9.

[2] The same attitude of the legs is seen on the archigallus representation from Rome (see above p. 34 n. 1).

[3] Museum St. Rémy, Inv. no. 1186: H. Rolland, *Fouilles de Glanum*, Paris 1946, 98 and fig. 63; H. Rolland, *Glanum*, Paris 1949, Pls XXXI-XXXIII. The photographs was kindly procured by Mr. H. Rolland.

[4] Cumont, *Rel. Or.*^{4}, 66 and Pl. IV, 1; CIL XIV, 38; Helbig, *Führer*, I^4, 827, no. 1153 (1236) with bibliography. In addition, see Maria Floriani-Squarciapino, *Oriental Cults ad Ostia*, 10; Foto Anderson 24130; Alinari 6361; A. Brelich in *Enc. d'Arte Ant.*, s.v. *Attis*, fig. 1138. See also at Florence: Alinari 1180.

(Pl. XXI, 3). This marble cult-statue was dedicated by C. Cartilius Euplus in the second century A.D. Attis is depicted with various symbols alluding to his connections with Dionysus, Mên, and the solar and lunar cults.[1] He is reclining on the rocky soil of the banks of the Gallus or the Agdus. A large head of the Zeus type may represent either the river god or the mighty governor of the mountain. Attis' face is both weak and feminine and he is represented as a hermaphrodite. A cloth covers his bent legs, and he wears sandals on his feet and a cape which is wrapped around his shoulders. In the left hand he holds a *pedum*, but in the right hand he holds a bunch of flowers. His head too is crowned with flowers, corn ears, pine cones and poppies. There are five holes in the tiara in order to fasten the solar rays, and there is a crescent on its top. In this statue the artist demonstrated all the powers of the divine figure together; Attis is no longer a dying god but a victorious one.

Other figures show more action than usual. They tell how the Mother of the Gods brought him into ecstasy and how she discovered him when he was already dying after his mutilation. Sometimes they even show the preparations for this frenzied act. A terra cotta figurine from Tarsus[2] portrays Attis with a knife in his hand. Another terra cotta from Cyprus[3] shows still more clearly how Attis stands ready to prepare himself for castration. Later (p. 56) we will discuss a similar scene on a wall painting in Pompeii. Representations from Tarsus[4] as well as from other places depict Attis lifting his tunica in order to show that he is emasculated. A white marble statue, probably found in Italica[5] in Spain, again portrays a normal and quiet reclined Attis, but it is too much damaged to show more detail. On the relief from Burnum 1) in Dalmatia Attis lies under a pine tree. This time he is either visited or discovered by the Mother Goddess. However, the scene is flanked on either side by a standing Attis in a niche. The lying Attis only wears a tiara and a shoulder cape, and he holds his right hand between his legs. It is therefore probable that he is represented shortly after his mutilation.

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[1] *Cf.* Hippolytus: πολύμορφον Ἄττιν; CIL IX 3146: *lunam argenteam.*

[2] *GBA* II, 1876.

[3] W. Froehner, *Catalogue des terres cuites grecques, vases peints et marbres antiques de la Coll. Gréau,* Paris 1891, II, 117 no. 483: "Attis imberbe, le devant du corps nu, la tête voilée, les bras abaissés et couverts d'un manteau. Il a le ventre ballonné, les jambes serrées l'une contre l'autre, mais celle de droite s'avance légèrement. La main gauche prend les parties sexuelles, l'autre tient un objet indistinct, probablement le couteau en silex qui servait à la castration." *Cf.* two Attis figurines with *falx* both from Salerno: *RRS* II, 471, 4 and 5. See also below p. 56 and n. 4.

[4] See below p. 48 Much more interesting is a lamp from Tarsus, now in the Louvre, Inv. no. 65, which depicts a lying and winged Attis (Pl. II, 2).

[5] There is a doubtful marble statue (H.o. 62) of a lying Attis from Italica in the Archaeological Museum of Granada (Inv. no. 843): Furtwängler,

The only scene which he shows that the Mother of the Gods cause the death of her beloved Attis, and which therefore represents both of them, is the much discussed fragment of a marble floor in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Pl. XXII) in Paris. 2) This fragment was found more than a century ago in Gaul, and had been part of the floor of a villa or temple. The Goddess is seated on a throne which rests on the rocky soil of a mountain. The throne is finely decorated and, at the top of the pediment of the back, it has a medallion with the head of either Attis or the Goddess. Cybele is sitting in full dress and rests her left hand on a *tympanum*, which is decorated with a large rosette. At her left stands a lion. Behind the throne a dancing Maened is beating cymbals and underneath and before Cybele's feet there is a jug, a plate, a torch against a *cista* and an oriental cap. In the centre of the hexagonal fragment there is a large pine tree with pine cones which has two flutes and a horn suspended from its branches. Next to the tree and turned towards the Goddess, a Corybant is dancing with a shield in the upraised left hand and a dagger in the outstretched right hand.

Meisterwerke, 592; Amelung in *RA* 1904, 343; Manuel Gómez Moreno y José Pyoán, *Materiales de Arqueología Española*, Madrid 1912, no. 19; Reinach, *RS*, V, 504, 7; P. Paris in *RA* 1925, 325ff and figs 2-3; García y Bellido, *Esc.*, 127f, no. 130 and Pl. 100.

1) E. Reisch in *ÖJh* XVI, 1913 (*Beibl.*), 121f and fig 34; A. Schober, *Römische Grabsteine von Noricum und Pannonien*, Vienna 1923, 215 suggests the first interpretation; see also Erna Diez in *ÖJh* XLVI, 1961-1963, 52.

2) A. de Longpérier, *Cybèle et Attis* in *Bull. Arch. Athénaeum français*, I, 1855, 106 and Pl. VI; Daremberg-Saglio *s.v.* Corybantes, col. 1541, fig. 2021; Longpérier, *Oeuvres*, II, 360; Chapouthier in *Mél. Dussaud* also notes that the authenticity is doubtful, but the tympanum decorated with a star argues for its originality; Ch. Picard in *Mon. Piot* 49, 1957, 46, n. 4; P. Friedländer, *Documents of Dying Paganism*, Berkeley 1945, 45 and Pl. 16.

The dramatic scene lies to the right of the tree. With a ram and a sheep lying at his feet, the shepherd Attis is found sitting on a rock. He is dressed in the usual oriental way and he holds a *syrinx* in his right hand. A fierce Corybant with a shield in the left hand grasps his breast with the right hand. It appears that he will also put Attis into a frenzy, or else he prevents him from falling down from the rock. In the latter case the scene would mean that Attis mutilated himself some moments ago ¹) and now will die in Cybele's presence.

Finally, one scene seems to depict the dead Attis (Pl. XXIII). This marble relief, which is in the Dresden Museum, ²) was found in Rome. Attis is lying with outstretched legs on a rock. He wears the tiara, a *tunica manicata,* a mantle and *anaxyrides.* Both his hands and arms are outstretched and raised above his head, but the body shows no other movement. At his right side lie a torch, two cymbals and a tiara. His eyes are closed. Attis is resting in the deep sleep which followed his beautiful but cruel love affair with Cybele.

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¹) Daremberg-Saglio *s.v.* Cybèle, col. 1689, fig. 2250: l'étoffe qui semble cacher quelque chose dans ses plis.

²) I am obliged to Mr M. Raumschüssel, Director of the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen of Dresden for sending me a photograph and allowing me to reproduce it here. It is mentioned in *AA* 1889, 101 as coming from an unknown location, but it is certainly identical to the relief described by C. L. Visconti in *Ann. Ist.*, XLI, 1869, 235: "Un curioso monumento rappresentante Atti estinto è posseduto dal Pietro Morolli. In questo raro oggetto antico, chè di marmo e molto piccolo, si ha il frigio pastorello disteso, non già sulla *cline,* o sur una lettiga, ma sopra una specie di rogo: i crotali, una tiara frigia ed un oggetto che sembra una face, gli giaciono allato." A design in J. Leipoldt, *Die Religionen in der Umwelt des Urchristentums,* Leipzig 1926, fig. 141, who betrays the torch as the penis (!). For comparison see the lying winged Eros in Madrid: A. Laumonier, *Catalogue de terres cuites du Musée archéologiques de Madrid,* Paris 1921, 178, no. 837 (3287) and Pl. XC, 3.

CHAPTER FIVE

ATTIS TRISTIS ET HILARIS

Attis is dead and buried, but no representation of his grave exists. Nor do we find Cybele lamenting the *tumulus* of her lover. The authors relate that the Goddess brought into a grotto the pine tree under which Attis had mutilated himself and died. A romantic version recounts that a maiden and fiancé by the name of Ia (not Sagaritis) anointed the severed member and wrapped it in a cloth. Then, like the unfortunate Adrastus, she killed herself on Attis' grave. New plants arose from the girl's blood when she followed Attis into death. However, these local or accidental stories were apparently invented and woven gradually around the central theme of Attis' passion and death. In any case, Attis will never again have contact with a mortal or immortal woman. [1])

The Roman ceremonies [2]) which were held in Attis' honour during the month of March were divided into two principal parts: the *tristia*, the commemoration of Attis' passion and death, and the *hilaria*, the festivities of his followers who believed that the god comes to life again after a long winter sleep (Pl. XXIV). [3])

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[1]) Julian, *Or.*, VIII [V], 11 (171, b): Οὕτω τοι καὶ τὸν Ἄττιν οὐ κατεχθραίνουσα μετὰ τὴν ἐκτομὴν ἡ Μήτηρ λέγεται, ἀλλὰ ἀγανακτεῖ μὲν οὐκέτι, ἀγανακτοῦσα δὲ λέγεται διὰ τὴν συγκατάβασιν, ὅτι κρείττων ὢν καὶ θεὸς ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ καταδεεστέρῳ·

[2]) Cumont in PWRE *s.v.* Gallos, *col.* 675: "Attis ist ein einheimischer Gott und seine Fabel ist nichts anderes als eine ätiologische Erklärung des Kultgebrauches, aus dem sie erwachsen ist. Es ist verkehrt, den Riten aus dem Mythus abzuleiten, wie die Alten es tun (Lactantius, *Inst.*, I, 17,5; Minucius Felix, *Oct.*, 22 u.s.w.)." I believe that one must accept the fact that the myth influenced the cult, but afterwards some ceremonies were explained by interpreting them as versions of a certain myth.

[3]) For the sitting figures of Attis as winter, see above p. 20. Standing figures of Attis as winter occur on a sarcophagus from Rome (G. Hanfmann, *The Season Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks*, I-II, Cambridge (Mass.), 1951) and on a sarcophagus from Ampurias, now in the archaeological Museum in Gerona (A. García y Bellido, *Esculturas romanas de España y Portugal*, Madrid 1949, no. 271 and Pls 218-219). Attis is portrayed as spring on a sarcophagus known only through a drawing of Dosio in the Church of Santa

Two statues from Ostia seem to point to this periodic resurrection (see above p. 35). Behind the tree where Attis mutilated himself another young Attis stands ready to replace the dying one. The other statue shows the lying and triumphant Attis, his entire figure indicating the resurrection which is also shown by the decoration of various kinds of flowers and plants. One version of this myth from Asia Minor tells that the vegetation was ordered not to flourish until Attis was buried. The new vegetation was only able to grow with the help of the Mother of the Gods. The impression is given that those who venerated him in the cult which Cybele instituted would receive the gifts of rich vegetation. [1]) In the original myth Attis, like Adonis, was thus connected with the growth of plants in nature, thus it was only in Roman times that his adeptors laid more stress on this aspect. [2]) It is no wonder that in Greece too, at a much earlier date, Cybele is often represented with Demeter. Like Persephone, the daughter of the Eleusinian Goddess, the son and lover of the Phrygian Mother becomes the giver of new, fresh vegetation.

In ancient art Cybele is not represented as a *pietà* lamenting her dead son. Instead the son himself is shown in mourning. Sometimes, as on a terra cotta figurine from Amphipolis, [3]) or a small bronze in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, [4]) Attis is seated on a base or rock in a sorrowful attitude. However, he generally stands cross-legged with one elbow leaning on the shepherd's crook and one hand sustaining his head. [5]) He seems to be meditating his

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Caecilia in Rome: M. Lawrence, *Columnar Sarcophagi in the Latin West* in *Art Bulletin* XIV, 1932, 103ff; P. N. Ferri in *Boll. d'Arte* V, 1911, 305, Pl. 18; Hanfmann, II, 178, no. 489.

[1]) *Cf.* a bronze figurine of Attis standing and holding fruit in his tunica in the Madrid Museum, Inv. no. 3015=Graillot, Pl. XI, 1; see also above n. 16 and the dancing Attis of Fianello Sabino, p. 52.

[2]) This question is again treated by P. Lambrechts, *Attis: van Herdersknaap to God* in *Verh. Vlaamse Ac. Wet.* (Klasse Letteren, XXIV, no. 46), Brussels 1962; P. Lambrechts, *De Fenomenologische Methode in de Godsdienstwetenschap* in *Verh. Vlaamse Ac. Wet.* (Klasse Letteren, XXVI, no. 6), Brussels 1964. Some remarks by F. L. Bastet in *BiOr* XXII, 1965, 201ff.

[3]) See above p. 20 n. 6.

[4]) E. Babelon-J. A. Blanchet, *Catalogue des Bronzes antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris 1895, no. 667.

[5]) These types also occur among sitting figures. See above p. 20.

ill fate. It is superfluous to enumerate all these examples of the standing Attis *tristis*. This type became common later on and was often found on Roman sepulchral monuments. 1)

There is still another widespread type which forms the counterpart to the mourning Attis in quiet attitude. It was first fully recognized by Ch. Picard 2) and shows Attis *hilaris* dancing in a Scopaic and Bacchic tension. 3) Like the Hellenistic dancing Erotes he sometimes wears wings at his shoulders and like the Dionysus-Pais he sometimes dances on tip-toe like the small bronze Roman Lares (*cf.* p. 55). Julian, 4) in his hymn to the Mother of the Gods, relates: ἄχρι τοι τούτων ἐπέτρεψεν ἡ Μήτηρ τῶν θεῶν σκιρτᾶν τε καὶ χορεύειν τῷ παγκάλῳ τούτῳ καὶ ταῖς ἡλιακαῖς ἀκτῖσιν ἐμφερεῖ τῷ νοερῷ θεῷ, τῷ Ἄττιδι. Ὁ δὲ ἐπειδὴ προιὼν ἦλθεν ἄχρι τῶν ἐσχάτων, ὁ μῦθος αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ἄντρον κατελθεῖν ἔφη καὶ συγγένεσθαι τῇ νύμφῃ. But on the other hand ὁ μῦθος διδάξαι παραινέσαι φησὶ τὴν Μητέρα τῶν θεῶν τῷ Ἄττιδι θεραπεύειν αὐτὴν καὶ μήτε ἀποχωρεῖν μήτε ἐρᾶν ἄλλης. 5) Cybele herself instructed Attis in the art of dance, but the

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1) Rapp in Roscher, *Myth. Lex.*, s.v. *Attis*, col. 727; Fr. Cumont, *Notice sur un Attis funéraire découvert à Vervoz* in *Bull. Inst. arch. liégois* XXIX, 1900, 65ff; M. Renard, *Attis funéraires de Toulouse* in *Latomus* XI, 1952, 59ff.

2) Ch. Picard in *RA* (S. 6) XXVII, 1947, 229ff. It seems that P. Lambrechts, *De Fenomenologische Methode in de Godsdienstwetenschap* in *Med. Vlaamse Ac. Wet.* (Klasse der Letteren XVI, no. 6), Brussel 1964, 16f completely ignores the *hilaris* type when he writes: "Wie heeft anderzijds ooit een voorstelling van Attis gezien, die als "vreugdevol" zou kunnen bestempeld worden? Immer stoot men—wanneer men het iconografisch materiaal bestudeert—op een peinzende, treurende, melancholische jongeman, en men zal toegeven dat deze beelden of reliëfs weinig aangewezen zijn om de gedachte van de nieuwe, herboren natuur tot uitdrukking te brengen. Met de zo hooggeprezen "Frühlingsgott" Attis is het dus ook bedenkelijk gesteld."

3) See the Maenads on the terra cotta relief in Leningrad: Furtwängler, *Coll. Sabouroff*, Pl. 137; Will, *Relief Cultuel*, 430 and fig. 76; *cf.* Nicander, *Alexiph.*, 7: ὀργαστήριον Ἄττεω. Ch. Picard, *Dionysus Pais et Attis enfant* in *Mémorial G. P. Oikonomos*, I (=*Arch. Eph.* 1953-1954), 1955, 1ff; *cf.* in *Numen* IV, 1957, 18f.

4) Julian, *Or.*, VIII [V], 5 (165c). Other connections with Dionysus and Sabazius: Attis standing on a mask of Sabazius (Naples, National Museum, Inv. no. 72592=Cumont, *Rel. Or.* 4, Pl. IV, 4). In general see: Ch. Picard, *Sabazios, dieu thraco-phrygien* in *RA*, 1961, 129ff. The winged Attis from Cyzicus (see below p. 46) has an ivy leaf in his hair and other ivy leaves lie at his feet.

5) Julian, *Or.*, VIII [V], 6 (167a); *cf.* Plutarch, *Amator.*, 16 p. 759B: τὰ βακχικὰ καὶ κορυβαντικὰ σκιρτήματα.

youth commits ὕβρις against the Mother of the Gods and thereby forces her to drive him mad. Like Agave, 1) who whirls around in Dionysiac madness with a sword in her hand and who, inspired by the god himself, will kill her own son Pentheus, the Goddess Cybele must bring Attis into ecstasy so that he will mutilate himself and die. But the major difference is that Agave was not a Goddess and Cybele was the Mother of the Gods; Pentheus is punished forever but Attis suffers only temporarily.

This becomes clear from the Roman festivities 2) when the Galli honour their divine example in spring-time. After singing their monotonous hymns, 3) one of them suddenly starts crying, accompanied by the penetrating rhythm of the tambourines. The γαλλαῖον ὀλόλυγμα 4) and their wild dances are βακχικὰ καὶ κορυβαντικὰ σκιρτήματα. The dances of the Galli *citatis tripudiis* 5) and the flagellation 6) of their bodies must be compared with the *delirium* of Attis and his *iactatio fanatica.* 7) It is not difficult to form an impression of these ecstatic dances in modern times. The oriental dervishes 8) of Antiquity were often depicted on terra cotta figurines from Asia Minor and Greece which show them in oriental costume wildly dancing with their arms and hands raised above their

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1) J. Carcopino, *La Basilique Pythagoricienne de la Porte Majeure*, Paris 1926, 137f; 278.

2) J. Carcopino, *Aspects mystiques de la Rome païenne*, Paris 1942, 49ff; P. Lambrechts, *Les fêtes "phrygiennes" de Cybèle et d'Attis* in *Bull. Inst. belge Rome* XXVII, 1952, 141ff; P. Lambrechts, *Attis à Rome* in *Mél. Smets*, Brussel 1952, 461ff; G. Showerman, *Was Attis at Rome under the Republic?* in *TPAPhA* XXXI, 1900, 46ff. For the classical texts see: Dion. Hal., II, 19, 4; *cf.* Varro, *Sat. Menip.*, fr. 150 Bücheler: *Gallorum frequentiam in templo.*

3) Hippolytus, *Ref. Haer.*, V, 9 p. 168ff=Hepding, 34f; Graillot, 255.

4) Rhianus Cretensis in *Anth. Pal.*, VI, 173=Hepding, 7.

5) Catullus, 63, 26; *cf.* Ovid, *Fasti*, VI, 329f: *pars brachia nectit/et viridem celeri ter pede pulsat humum.* See also the *tripudium* of the Salii, whose ceremonies partly coincide with the ceremonies on the Palatine (Graillot, 280) and the dance of the Corybants (see above p. 37).

6) See Graillot, 127ff, and opposing his view, Ch. Picard in *Numen* IV, 1957, 14f; J. Przyluski, *La grande déesse*, Paris 1950, 28ff.

7) *Iactatio fanatica*: Livy, XXXIX, 13; *cf.* Arnobius, *Adv. Nat.*, V, 13: *furor Acdestius.*

8) W. Schepelern, *Der Montanismus und die phrygischen Kulte*, Tübingen 1929, 146ff.

heads (ὄκλασμα): [1] *semper Galli per furorem motu capitis comam rotantes ululatu futura pronuntiabant.* [2] The authors relate that in their frenzy the Galli often sacrificed their own virility, although this was forbidden in Rome after the Flavian period. [3]

Attis' dance is imitated not only by his priests but also in the theatre. An inscription [4] from Rome *d(is) M(anibus) T(ito) Flavio Chrysopaedi sodales ballatores Cybele* mentions a society of dancers. Hepding [5] feels that this implies a *collegium* of Galli but I believe, as Graillot suggests, [6] that they are the dancers in the procession of the Hilaria festival and at the following ceremony of the *lavatio*, the last day of the commemoration. Attis himself once danced in honour of Cybele, who likes the dance. [7] He also danced for the Nymph later on. Lucianus [8] adds that Rhea-Cybele instructed the Corybantes in Phrygia (!) in the dance. The *ballatores* certainly performed special dances during the feast of the Megalensia in April in the theatre situated nearby Cybele's temple on the Palatine. [9] It was probably in this same theatre that Nero [10] acted out a hymn to Attis, accompanying himself on the lyra.

Christian writers, especially Arnobius, [11] could not find enough invectives to hurl against the imitation of the love dance of Cybele and Attis. The entire population, the Senate and even the Vestal Virgins are assisting at those *pantomimi vestri, histriones, illa minorum atque exoleti generis multitudo. Saltatur Venus. . . . . saltatur et Magna sacris compta cum infulis Mater et contra decus aetatis illa Pessinuntia Dindymene in bubulci unius amplexum flagitiosa fingitur adpetitione gestire.* The entire myth of Attis 1) is shown in the theatre like the stories of Europa, Leda, Ganymedes and Danae. No more quiet (*tranquillior, lenior*) is the *Magna Mater, si Attidis conspexerit priscam refricari ab histrionibus fabulam* 2) and the spectators amuse themselves, *qui motibus scaenicis et saltationibus histrionum festos dies ducant et hilaritatis plenissimas voluptates.* The dancers are particularly mentioned during the *hilaria*. After the difficult period of abstinence from food and sexual intercourse (ἁγνείας καιρός), 3) that third day when τέμνεται τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἀπόρρητον θέρος τοῦ θεοῦ Γάλλου 4) and the ἐκτομὴ τοῦ δένδρου, 5) Attis is laid in his grave in a *funeris pompa*.

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[1] See the terra cotta figurines below and, for a more extensive discussion, Robinson, *Olynthus*, XIV, 305f.

[2] Servius, *ad Aen.*, X, 220; *cf.* in general Graillot, 304.

[3] There is no interdiction before Domitian (Graillot, 75, n. 2; Mommsen, *Strafrecht*, 637); *cf.* Ulpian, *Digesta*, XLVIII, 8, 4, 2 (Hadrian): *nemo liberum servumve invitum sinentemve castrare debet, neve quis se sponte castrandum praebere debet.* See also Hitzig in PWRE *s.v.* castratio; Cumont in PWRE *s.v.* Gallos. Concerning the so-called castration clamp see: Eve and J. R. Harris *The Oriental Cults in Roman Britain*, Leiden 1965, 109ff.

[4] CIL VI 2265.

[5] Hepding, *Attis*, 158, n. 4.

[6] Graillot, 284.

[7] See below Arnob., IV, 35: *saltatur et magna...... Mater.*

[8] Lucian, *de Salt.*, 8; *cf.* p. 42 n. 8.

[9] *Cf.* Augustine, *Civ. Dei*, II, 4 (p. 122 *ed.* Lagrange): *et Berecynthiae matri omnium, ante cuius lecticam die sollemni lavationis eius talia per publicum cantitabantur a nequissimis scaenicis.*

[10] Cassius Dio, XLI; *cf.* Hippolytus, V, 9: ὅθεν καὶ τοὺς θεάτροις ἐπιδεικνυμένους λέγουσι μηδ' αὐτοὺς ἀπρονοήτως τι λέγειν ἢ ποιεῖν. τοιγαροῦν, φησίν, ἐπὰν συνέλθῃ ὁ δῆμος ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις, εἴσεισί τις ἠμφισμένος στολὴν ἔξαλλον, κιθάραν φέρων καὶ ψάλλων.

[11] Arnobius, IV, 35.

After the *funera et luctus* and the *expositio* Attis is shown descending into the Netherworld. But not forever. A small terra cotta lamp in the National Museum in Rome 6) shows Cybele sitting on a high-backed throne. Before her Attis stands in oriental dress, holding the *pedum* in the left hand and possibly a knife in the right one. Attis will certainly die and by the orders of the Goddess, but at the same time, as H. Seyrig 7) points out, she gives him a

1) *Cf.* Arnobius, V, 42.

2) Arnobius, *Adv. Nat.*, VII, 33. See also: J. A. Hanson, *Roman Theater-Temples*, Princeton 1959, 15.

3) Julian, *Or.*, VIII [V], 9 (168d); *cf.* Hippolytus, V, 8: χλοερὸν στάχυν τεθερισμένον; V, 9: χλοερὸν στάχυν ἀμηθέντα.

4) Julian, *Or.*, VIII [V], 9 (169a). A small bronze in Toulouse (Graillot, Pl. XI and above p. 15 n. 3) shows Attis with a *syrinx* and three canes.

5) Cumont in *PWRE s.v.* dendrophori.

6) Graillot, 207, n. 5; H. Seyrig in *AJA* XLVIII, 1944, 23 and fig. 2. The lamp seems to have been lost.

7) *Katabasis*, hence the mystic branch: H. Seyrig, *Le rameau mystique* in *AJA* XLVIII, 1944, 20ff; *cf.* H. Wagenvoort, *De Gouden Tak* in *Hermeneus* 31, 1959, 46ff; 72ff, 92ff; J. G. Préaux, *Virgile et le rameau d'or* in *Homm. Dumézil=Latomus* XLV, 1960, 151ff. A standing bronze Attis with a branch in his left hand: A. de Ridder, *Les Bronzes antiques du Louvre*, I, Paris 1913, 12, no. 34 and Pl. 6; Cybele with a branch: Graillot, 134, n. 4; Cumont, *Rel. Or.*^{4}, Pl. II; on coins: Cohen, 2^{2}, nos 126 and 422; M. Bernhart, *Handbuch zur Münzkunde der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Taf. 44, 2.

branch of a pine tree full of pine cones (Pl. XXV, 1). This is the *rameau mystique* whose power will enable him to return from the Netherworld. Damascius 1) describes someone in Hierapolis who dreamt that he became Attis himself and that the Mother of the Gods ordered the feast of the *Hilaria*, which commemorates the ἐξ Ἅδου σωτηρίαν. Attis returns from the Netherworld and his followers are glad since they believe *et numina ex rebus hilarioribus gaudere*; 2) hence —and we repeat the words of Vopiscus —all things must be joyful: Attis is reborn; Attis arose; εὐίον Ἄττην. 3)

The archaeological finds confirm these details. Ch. Picard, 4) in a thorough study, recently demonstrated that a small theatre, excavated in Vienne (Isère), belonged to a sanctuary of Cybele and Attis. In 1945 a relief was found at the same place of a sacrifice to the Goddess. 5) At the foot of the *cavea* of the theatre, and situated between a long northern and southern wall, there is a shallow *scaena*. The high side walls resting on enormous blocks had a double function: they not only supported the *cavea*, but simultaneously protected the *scaena* from the undesirable glances of the uninitiated. 6) Three fragments of granite columns were found. The building was richly decorated and part of this decoration was a large bust of Attis. Will 7) remarked that the bust "se détache sur un bloc taillé comme une pierre d'assise" and therefore formed part of a

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1) Damascius, *Vita Isidori* in Photius, *Bibl.* (cod), CCXLII *ed.* Migne, p. 1281; *ed.* Bekker, p. 345A.

2) Catullus, 63, 18: *hilarate*; Arnobius, VII, 34; Julian, *Or.*, VIII [V], 9 (168d); *cf.* Macrobius, *Sat.*, I, 21: *Catabasi finita simulationeque luctus peracta, celebratur laetitiae exordium ante diem octavum Kalendas Apriles, quem diem Hilaria appellant, quo primum tempore sol diem longiorem nocte protendit.*

3) SHA, *Aurelianus*, 1, 1: *hilaribus quibus omnia festa et fieri debere scimus et dici.*

4) Ch. Picard, *Le théâtre de Cybèle-Attis à Vienne* in *CRAI* 1955, 229ff: period of Claudius or somewhat later. *Cf.* Ch. Picard in *RA* XLIV, 1954, 156.

5) Ch. Picard in *RA* (S. 6) XXVI, 1946, 159ff; R. Turcan in *REA* LXIII, 1961, 45ff; *cf.* E. Will, *La Sculpture romaine au Musée de Vienne*, Vienna 1952, 58, no. 115, Pl. VIII, 1.

6) *Cf.* a wall in Chapel Z in the Mithraeum on the Aventine: M. J. Vermaseren-C. C. van Essen, *The Excavations in the Mithraeum of the Church of Sa Prisca on the Aventine*, Leiden 1965, 142ff.

7) E. Will, *La Sculpture romaine au Musée lapidaire de Vienne*, Vienna 1952, 52, no. 102; *cf.* Espérandieu, *Rec. Gaule*, I, 259, no. 356.

construction of large dimensions (the original height of the figure: 1.56 m.).

In 1917 Macridy-Bey and Ch. Picard¹) discovered a winged Attis in Cyzicus which stands against a column which in turn probably belongs to the *parastadium* of a temple (Pl. XXV, 2). Attis holds his hands on his back as though he is chained to the column. He wears his usual oriental dress with long trousers which do not cover his belly. There is a similar statue in the Copenhagen Museum²) from the same location (Pl. XXV, 3), and another one from Bouyouk-Dere³) in Asia Minor is clearly hermaphroditic. In addition, the *antefixes* from Falerii *veteres*, ⁴) dating from the third to second century B.C., show Attis standing with a torch in his hand. His figures alternate with those of the πότνια θηρῶν here.

Attis is sometimes winged on these representations and Ch. Picard believes that they are older than the unwinged figures. At a still later date the latter could even be used as decorations for a marble trapezophorus in Herculaneum. ⁵)

Attis received his wings under the influence of Eros. Like the winged god of love or the unwinged young Dionysus, Attis is occasionally pictured dancing. Sometimes he is a male youth, and one can suppose that he performs a dance of love for the

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¹) Th. Macridy Bey-Ch. Picard, *Attis d'un Métroon de Cyzique* in *BCH* XLV, 1921, 436ff. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 3302. *Cf.* P. Devambez, *Deux pilliers décorés trouvés à Cyzique* in *RA* (S. 6) IX, 1937, 176ff, who publishes two Satyrs of the 2nd cent. A.D.

²) Glyptotek, no. 121=*RRS*, 471, no. 1; Fr. Poulsen, *Katalog over antike Skulpturer NCG*, Copenhagen 1940, 104, no. 121 and Pl. IX.

³) Macridy Bey-Picard, *o.c.*, 460f and fig. 11. For the standing Attis figurines from Tarsus and Andrinopolis, see above p. 14 and Pls. IV, 1-2. Another example from Ephesus: J. Keil in *ÖJh* XXIII, 1926 (Beibl.), 276 and fig. 60; from Erdek (Bursa, Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 267): G. Mendel in *BCH* XXXIII, 1909, 259, no. 8; G. Mendel, *Cat.*, II, 228ff; Macridy Bey-Picard, 437; Graillot, 377, n. 3. A marble statue from Gortyns and now in the Heraklion Archaeological Museum shows Attis standing in a mourning attitude with both hands behind his back (Pl. XXV, 4); date: probably 1st cent. A.D.: L. Savignoni, *Due monumenti con iscrizioni d'artisti* in *RM* V, 1890, 142ff and fig. 1; *RRS* III, 137, no. 5; Ch. Picard in *Arch. Eph.* (=*Mem. Oikonomos*, I), 1953-1954, 8, n. 2. Other similar pieces are in Athens (Savignoni, 144, n. 1).

⁴) Mary Taylor-H. C. Bradshaw in *PBSR* VIII, 1916, 1ff.

⁵) See above p. 14 n. 3.

Great Mother. In other cases he is either a child or he has female traits. Then he is dancing the *hilaria* after his resurrection as the new-born child Attis. The series is much more common than is generally accepted; and it is therefore necessary to pay more attention to it. Such representations are firstly preserved in terra cotta and bronze figurines. The oldest example of the dancing Attis *hilaris* is found on a Hellenistic Greec vase (Pl. XXVI, 1) from the fourth century B.C. in the Louvre. [1]) The back of the vase is decorated with palmettes, but the front shows a dancing unwinged Attis with upraised hands. Next to him a little vase stands on the soil. There are other examples from Myrina in Asia Minor, though from a later period:

1) a terra cotta figurine [2]) of Attis in a girt *tunicata manicata, anaxyrides* and tiara (Pl. XXVI, 2). He is dancing with his head turned towards the left, and in his upraised right hand he holds a round object which is decorated with a cross [3]) (a loaf?). The breasts are female; in each shoulder there is a hollow for fastening the wings.

2) Terra cotta figurine [4]) of Attis with outstretched hands (Pl. XXVI, 3). He is dressed in oriental costume and he holds an indistinct object in his right hand. There are little wings on his shoulders.

3) Terra cotta figurine. [5]) Attis as a child in dancing attitude and wearing oriental dress (Pl. XXVI, 4). The mantle covers his

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[1]) Paris, Louvre, Inv. no. MNB 808. I am grateful to Mrs Simone Mollard-Besques for supplying a photograph. Compare the "woman dancing": R. A. Higgins, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the British Museum,* II, London 1959, 60, no. 1705 and Pl. 39.

[2]) Paris, Louvre, Inv. no. 215 (230): E. Pottier-S. Reinach, *La Nécropole de Myrina,* Paris 1888, 405; 547, no. 215 and Pl. XXXI; *TK* II, 334, 2; D. Burr, *Terra cottas from Myrina in the Museum of Fine Arts,* Boston 1934, 57, n. 1; Simone Mollard-Besques, *Catalogue raisonné des figurines et reliefs en terrecuite grecs et romaines,* II, *Myrina,* Paris 1963, 85 and Pl. 103b. Second half of the 2nd cent. B.C.

[3]) Pottier-Reinach speak of "une sorte de fruit ou de fleur, pavot?".

[4]) Paris, Louvre, Inv. no. 279 *bis* (267); Pottier-Reinach, *Myrina,* 558, no. 279 *bis*; *TK* II, 334, 2; Mollard-Besques, II, 85 and Pl. 103*f*; date: Hellenistic.

[5]) Paris, Louvre, Inv. no. CA 267 (1889); Mollard-Besques, II, 85 and Pl. 104*b*; date: first half of the 2nd cent. B.C.

outstretched left hand; the right hand is upraised. He wears wings.

4) Terra cotta figurine. 1) Dancing Attis, holding both hands forward; he has flowers (?) in his right hand. The tiara has two long flaps, as on many of these figures. He wears a tunica and *anaxyrides*; female type; no wings (Pl. XXVII, 1).

5) Terra cotta figurine. 2) The upper part of a dancing Attis; female type. There is a hole in each shoulder for the wings.

6) Terra cotta figurine. 3) Dancing Attis with outstretched hands. He holds an indistinct object in the right hand (*cf.* no. 4); no wings (Pl. XXVII, 2).

7) Possibly from Myrina is a small terra cotta figurine (H.0.16 m.), owned by Mrs A. C. R. van der Mandele of Bloemendaal (Holland), of a naked dancing child with no wings (Pl. XXVIII, 1). The left arm is outstretched. With the right hand he holds a cloth which covers his head and which ends in a knot, the cloth also serving as a shoulder cape. Transition type Eros-Attis.

The same series is also known from Tarsus:

1) Terra cotta figurine 4) of Attis in oriental dress, with belly uncovered (Pl. XXVIII, 2). He is dancing, unwinged and clearly male.

2) Dancing Attis 5) like the preceding one, but more feminine.

3) Dancing Attis in twisting attitude 6) and with outstretched hands (now lost) (Pl. XXVIII, 3).

4) Various heads with attached wings, probably of a dancing Attis (Pl. XXVIII, 4). 7)

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1) Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Inv. no. 01.7705; Burr, 57, no. 64 and Pl. XXV writes: "the wings cannot belong to Attis nor can we assume an assimilation of Eros with Attis." Date: second half of the 2nd cent. B.C.

2) Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Inv. no. 01.7707; Burr, 56, no. 63 and Pl. XXV. Date: 1st cent. B.C.

3) Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 2736; Pottier-Reinach, 418 and Pl. 34: "anodos of Adonis?"; Picard in *RA* (S. 6) XXVII, 1947, 232: Attis; G. Mendel, *Catalogue des figurines grecques de terrecuite*, Constantinople 1908, 400f, no. 2736: "danseur phrygien."

4) Paris, Louvre, Inv. no. T 36; unpublished.

5) Paris, Louvre, Inv. no. T 57; unpublished.

6) Paris, Louvre, Inv. no. T 56; unpublished.

7) Paris, Louvre, Inv. no. S 2948; S 3508.

In Myrina [1] (Pl. XXIX, 1), Tarsus [2] (Pl. XXIX, 2), Egypt, [3] Amphipolis [4] (Pl. XXX, 1), Olynthus [5] and Delos [6] we also often find the oriental figures dancing the *oklasma* dance. They sometimes have female traits, like Attis himself. In Delos one finds terra cotta figurines of the dancing Attis, but recently two winged and dancing Attis figures were found attached to golden earrings. [7] One of them seems to bear drinking vessels, and the other one seems to carry a he-goat and a torch. An equally precious hoop from Egypt, now in the British Museum, [8] is decorated with two kneeling Attis figures who raise their right hands and who hold fruit in their left hands. An exceptional and beautiful terra cotta from Amphipolis [9] depicts Attis dancing in a billowing mantle, turned towards the left, with upraised and clasped hands (Pl. XXX, 2).

One of the most beautiful examples is a bronze dancing Attis from Banasa [10] in North Africa (Pl. XXXI, 1). The oriental youth is winged and he wears a short tunica which is girt below the female breasts. His body is inclined towards the right. His right hand rests on his hip and his left hand is upraised but does not hold any attribute. Another bronze figurine (Pl. XXXI, 2), said to have been found in Egypt, [1]) exhibits two different remarkable features: the body and the head [2]) are now inclined towards the left and in the upraised right hand Attis holds one of the two exceptionally long ribbons of his tiara. The feet have been lost and repaired, but the attitude of the legs is similar to that of other dancing figures. This Attis also has large wings and the breasts of a woman. It is not impossible that still another small bronze, in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, which has been restored as a sitting [3]) figure is actually a dancing Attis. The youth wears oriental attire: tiara, tight *tunica manicata*, *anaxyrides* and a shoulder cape which is fastened by means of a round *fibula* on the left shoulder. This cape, however, is billowing outwards, which is not very appropriate for a sitting figure. Moreover, the head is inclined towards the right; the right leg is held straight, but the other one is bent. Like some other dancing figures, Attis holds his left hand upon the thigh of his left leg, while the right hand is turned backwards in a resolute gesture as though he had just thrown away an object (the torch?).

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[1] There are three main types:
a) standing figures with the two hands clasped above the head.
b) kneeling figures with one outstretched hand.
c) kneeling figures with two outstretched hands.
From Myrina: Louvre, Inv. no. MYR 280 (22); Pottier-Reinach, *Myrina*, 558, no. 280; 418 and Pl. XXXIV, 1; *TK* I, 171; *TK* II, 159, 5; Thompson, *Troy*, 101, n. 177; Picard in *RA* 1947, 232; Mollard-Besques, II, 85 and Pl. 104*c*. More uncertain is a standing figure in oriental dress with the clasped hands held towards the right: Paris, Louvre, Inv. no. MYR. 281 (70); Pottier-Reinach, *Myrina*, 393f and Pl. XXVIII, 3; *TK* II, 159, 9; Thompson, *Troy*, 101, n. 177; Mollard-Besques, II, 85 and Pl. 104*a*.

[2] Tarsus: Paris, Louvre, Inv. no. T 63; T 64; T 166a and T 166 (see Pl. XXIX, 3); the latter has two outstretched hands. Compare a bronze of a kneeling winged Attis: *RRS* II, 453, 7; de Ridder, *Br. Louvre*, I, 87, no. 615 and Pl. 43 (see Pl. XXIX, 4).

[3] From Kôm Firin: P. Perdrizet, *Les terres cuites grecques d'Égypte de la Collection Fouquet*, Nancy 1921, 121, no. 329 and Pl. CI right below.

[4] Amphipolis: Paris, Louvre, Inv. no. CA 1946.

[5] Robinson, *Olynthus*, XIV, 186f, no. 245 and Pl. 78; date: late 5th cent. B.C.

[6] A. Laumonier, *Les figurines de terrecuite* (*Expl. Délos* XXIII), Paris 1956.

[7] Information supplied by Mr. E. Levy of the French School at Athens. The figures will be published in *BCH*.

[8] F. H. Marshall, *Catalogue of the Finger rings in the British Museum*, London 1907, 120, no. 721 and Pl. XIX.

[9] Paris, Louvre, Inv. no. CA 1346.

[10] R. Thouvenot, *Statuette d'Attis* in *PSAM* IX, 1951, 113ff and Pls XXV-XXVI; Ch. Picard in *RA* (S. 6) XXVII, 1947, 229ff and figs. 23-24.

J. R. Harris of Oxford kindly drew my attention to a small Roman bronze (H. 0.08) belonging to Mrs. Emily Hesslein of

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[1]) Caylus, *Recueil*, IV, 203 and Pls XLV, 3-4; Chabouillet, *Catalogue*, no. 3044: "victoire asiatique ou scythique"; E. Babelon-J. Blanchet, *Catalogue des Bronzes antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, no. 673: "génie mithriaque ailé debout."

[2]) *Flexibile caput*: Maecenas in *Fragm. poetarum rom.*, 339 (*ed.* Baehrens).

[3]) Babelon-Blanchet, no. 667: "dadophore ou porte-flambeau mithriaque, assis"; Babelon-Blanchet, 204, no. 459: "Bacchant dansant" and the "Barbarian soldier" in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore (Dorothy Kent Hill, *Catalogue of Classical Bronze Sculptures in the Walters Art Gallery*, 1949, no. 123 and Pl. 26) are uncertain. A Roman bronze from Asia Minor, also doubtful, is in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul, Inv. no. 454; A. Joubin, *Catalogue sommaire des bronzes et byoux*, Constantinople 1898, 12, no. 47: "Paris debout, en costume phrygien." The left hand is upraised, the right arm (hand lost) extended straight forward. All these figurines are unwinged. The bronze figurine from Sanxey (*RRS*, II, 471, 8) possibly also represents Attis.

New York City and sold by Sotheby in 1962 (Pl. XXXII, 1). [1] The figure extends the right foot forward, the left arm (original?) is outstretched, and in the left hand holds a cymbal. That the figure must be interpreted as an Attis is proved by the tiara, which is incised with stars (ἀστερωτὸς πίλος). [2] Another dancing Attis *hilaris* is a bronze figure from an unknown location in Asia Minor. [3] Attis is dancing on tip-toe (Pl. XXXII, 2). His right hand, which does not hold any object, is upraised and the palm of his outstretched left hand is opened as in the preceding figure. He is dressed in a tiara, a *tunica manicata* and an *anaxyrides*, but his belly remains visible. His clothes are decorated with rosettes, crosses, stars with six rays and leaves. [4] Also dancing on tip-toe is a remarkable Attis from southern Italy (Pl. XXXII, 3) in the former Payne Knight Collection. [5] It can be compared with a small bronze (Pl. XXXIII, 1) in Cassel [6] except that the German piece is of a standing figure rather than a dancing one. Walters, who refers to similar examples in his catalogue, describes the dancing Attis in London as follows: "right foot is advanced; he is looking to the front; his right hand is placed on top of his head, and left hand held out with some object (now lost). He wears a Phrygian cap and a garment with long sleeves, girt at the waist; it hangs in loose folds above the girdle, and opens out as if blown back below, showing the body from the waist to the thighs. This garment is continued to the ankles as *anaxyrides* open in front and looped at intervals with studs; on his feet are boots fastened at the ankles". [1])

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[1] *Catalogue Sotheby* 18th June, 1962, 25, no. 94 and fig.: "a rare bronze figure of Mithras striding forward." Now in the Coll. K. J. Hewett in London; Mr. E. A. Martin was so kind as to send me a photograph.

[2] See above p. 33 n. 2. A terra cotta head of Attis from Cyprus is decorated with a row of rosettes (Froehner, *Coll. Gréau*, II, 143, no. 629 and fig. on p. 141).

[3] Paris, Louvre, Inv. no. 1897*bis*; A. de Longpérier, *Notice des Bronzes antiques du Musée National du Louvre*, Paris 1897, 95, no. 444; A. de Ridder, *Les Bronzes antiques du Louvre*, Paris 1913, 66, no. 434 and Pl. 35; Longpérier also refers to a similar figurine in Beger, *Thesaurus Brand.*, III, 312.

[4] For ivy leaves see above p. 41 n. 4 ; a terracotta head from Tarsus, now in Paris, Louvre, Inv. no. S 3472 is decorated with a circular *fibula* and leaves.

[5] London, British Museum, Inv. no. 1020; H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Bronzes in the British Museum*, London 1899, 184, no. 1020.

[6] Margarete Bieber, *Die antiken Skulpturen und Bronzen in Cassel*, Marburg 1915, 64, no. 173 and Pl. XLIII: the right hand rests on top of the tiara, the left hand on the left thigh.

This same peculiar dress is not only worn by the afore mentioned golden Attis figures from Delos, but also by two others. One of them was found in Fianello Sabino [2]) in Italy and, at the same time offers, a new variation (Pl. XXXIII, 2). Whereas the figures from Sotheby's and the British Museum represent Attis without wings, the two figures from Delos and the one from Fianello show him with wings (the left one is lost, as well as the face and the left arm beneath the elbow). The attitude of the legs, which are mostly missing, seems to indicate a dancing figure. Attis' hand is upraised and with the fingers he clasps the border of a large *cornucopia* which is filled with apples, pine cones and grapes. It is also remarkable that the Italian piece is executed in marble. Another figurine is also in bronze and was found near the mouth of the Seine (Pl. XXXIII, 3) in Gallia. [3]) Attis is dancing. He is clearly indicated as a male and he does not wear wings. Originally he may also have held a *cornucopia*, for his left hand is outstretched and his right hand is raised behind his tiara. Another dancing Attis is in the

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[1]) In Gronovius, *Thes. Ant. Graec.*, I, Pl. S.

[2]) Rome, National Museum, Inv. no. 125836; D. Facenna in *NSc* (S. 8) 76, 1951, 68 and fig. 13, *b*. I am grateful to Mrs Lisa Lissi-Caronna for supplying the photographs. For the *cornucopia*, see also above p. 16 n. 6.

[3]) Rouen, Musée départemental des Antiquités; E. Espérandieu-H. Rolland, *Bronzes antiques de la Seine maritime*, Paris 1959, Pl. XXVII, 68. Other similar pieces in bronze are:

1) Unknown location. Paris, Louvre, Inv. no. Br 35: de Ridder, *Bronzes antiques du Louvre*, I, 12, no. 35 and Pl. 6. See Pl. XXXIII, 3 reproduced by courtesy of the Museum authorities.

2) A bronze from Tournai (*Turnacum*), now lost: L. Pignorius, *Magnae Deum Matris et Attidis initia ex vetustis monumentis nuper Tornaci erutis*, Parisiis 1623, Pl.; M. J. de Bast, *Recueil d'Antiquités romaines et gauloises*, Gand 1808, 162 and Pl. XII; Graillot, 451; Fr. Cumont, *Comment la Belgique fut romanisée*, Brussels 1914, 100, n. 5. The piece was originally in the possession of Dionysius Villers, canon at Tournai. See Pl. XXXIII, 4.

3) A bronze found at Treves, see Pl. XXXIV: E. Gose, *Bronze-statuette eines Attis aus der Mosel bei der Trierer Römerbrücke* in *Trierer Zeitschrift* 27, 1964, 148ff and Pls.

4) Bronze from Magnien: Graillot, 449.

5) Marble statue in the Museo Chiaramonti (Pl. XXXV, 1) in the Vatican Museums, XXX-15, Inv. no. 1656: W. Amelung, *Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museums*, I, Berlin 1903, Taf. 97, 76.

Madrid Museum. 1) Like a bronze from Egypt 2) in the Baltimore Museum, Attis is now completely covered by his garment. His right arm (hand lost) is upraised and his left hand, which holds a torch, is turned downwards.

After comparing these various types of the dancing Attis *hilaris*, one is inclined to classify a bronze figurine recently found in the river Rhine 3) east of Nijmegen (height 0.121 m.) in the same series (Pl. XXXV, 2-3). The youth wears a tiara, a short tunica with a girdle at the waist, and a billowing mantle. He raises his head and his eyes, which are silvered, to heaven. Like many other dancing figures, the left foot is placed before the right one. His right arm is upraised and his left hand has the same attitude as the Attis of Madrid and possibly also held a torch. The tunica is tightly pressed against the body, thus pronouncing the belly and navel. H. J. H. van Buchem, who was the first to publish the new bronze, prefers to interpret the figure as a νέος Φρύγιος Γανυμήδης, or not to give it a name at all. None of the three objections which he raises against its identification as an Attis are convincing. 4) However, in my

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1) *Catalogo del Museo*, I, 1883, no. 2982; Graillot, 475 and Pl. XI; R. Thouvenot, *Catalogue des figurines et objets de bronze du Musée archéologique de Madrid* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes l'Études Hispaniques, XII, 1), 1927, 48, no. 221. A second one in bronze from Moguerano: A. García y Bellido, *Esc. Rom.*, no. 126 and Pl. 97; García y Bellido, *Hercules Gaditanus*, Madrid 1964, 88 and fig. 13.

2) See below p. 56.

3) I developed the following thesis at a conference in Groningen during the 26th Netherlands Philological Congress, 21 April 1960: M. J. Vermaseren, *Attis en Ganymedes* in *Handelingen van het Nederlands Filologencongres*, 1960, 241. Nijmegen, Rijksmuseum G. M. Kam; first mentioned by H. J. H. van Buchem in *Verslag van het Rijksmuseum G. M. Kam*, 1957, 5 and Pl. ; idem, *Puer Pileatus* in *BBAB* XXXIV, 1959, 39ff and figs. I am obliged to Mr. H. J. H. van Buchem for the photographs.

4) 1) Attis generally "d'un air triste et pensif il regarde devant lui ou vers le sol, le menton appuyé sur la main." We saw that this is appropriate for the Attis *tristis*, though not always: *cf.* M. Renard in *Latomus* XI, 1952, 61 concerning the Attis at Narbonne.

2) Attis always has "un pantalon lié sur les cuisses et sur le devant des jambes." That this is not always the case was seen in the aforementioned representations .

3) It would be difficult to imagine an Attis "montant au ciel comme un garçon vêtu de draperies flottantes." On the other hand, the dress could be "un costume de la population indigène de l'Asie Mineure."

opinion the resemblances to the afore mentioned figures are too striking, although the dress of the Nijmegen [1] bronze is elaborated in a peculiar way. Moreover, Ulpia Noviomagus has hitherto been the most important finding place for representations of the Cybele-Attis cult in the Netherlands.

It has been observed more than once that one must be cautious when interpreting figures in oriental dress. Indeed they are often uncertain since Attis, Paris, Mithras and Ganymedes [2] belong to the same group. Among them, Mithras is usually quite easy to recognize, but his two torchbearers, Cautes and Cautopates, are not. As to Paris, and even his brother Hector, [3] attention has already been paid to their possible connection to the Attis cult. Ganymedes is carried, either by Zeus himself, as on the beautiful group from Olympia, [4] or an eagle. However I, like Fr. Bastet, [5] am convinced that Attis could also have brought him to Jupiter. This was the exceptional interpretation of the story in the so-called Pythagorean Basilica in Rome. The winged and flying genius in oriental dress and long *anaxyrides*, who conveys the shepherd and ὑδροχόος [6] Ganymedes to the mighty Olympian ruler in his arms, is none other than the shepherd and eunuch Attis. [7] The Phrygian shepherd

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[1] See M. J. Vermaseren, *La pénétration des cultes orientaux dans les Pays-Bas romains* in *RAEst* V, 1954, 105ff; this chapter will be republished with other testimonies in *The Oriental Cults in the Roman Netherlands* (*Études préliminaires aux Religions orientales*).

[2] Weizsäcker in Roscher *s.v.* Ganymedes; P. Friedländer in PWRE *s.v.* Ganymedes, does not mention the connection between Attis and Ganymedes.

[3] Ch. Picard, *Le phrygien Hector était-il Galle de Cybèle?* in *RA* XLIII, 1954, 81f. This Hector (CIL VI, 10098; *cf.* 33961) mentions that he is a *magni parvus cognominis heres*.

[4] Lastly J. Boardman, *Greek Art*, London 1964, fig. 111.

[5] F. L. Bastet, *De datum van het grote Hypogaeum bij de Porta Maggiore te Rome*, Leiden 1958, 30ff; 85. See also F. L. Bastet in *BiOr* XXII, 1965, 202: "das Hypogaeum könnte wohl einem frühzeitig verstorbenen Jüngling gewidmet sein."

[6] Hanfmann, *The Season Sarcophagus*, I, 240: "the obvious ancestor of Attis as Winter is the Phrygian boy pouring rain from a jug, who stands in calendars for the months of January or February: he is really Ganymede, the wine pourer of gods, transplanted into the starry firmament as the sign of Aquarius."

[7] See the interpretation of the flying figure as an Attis on the Cameo of Sainte Chapelle in Paris: E. Täubler, *Attis auf dem Kameo de la Sainte Chapelle* in *RM* XXXIV, 1919, 74ff.

Attis, loved by the Mother of the gods, now brings another Phrygian shepherd, Ganymedes, who will be loved by the Father of the gods, to heaven. The scene became one of the most relevant of the stuccoes in the Basilica, which has so many other allusions to mythological scenes in Phrygia. The scene, placed in the centre of the ceiling of the central hall, was also surrounded by figures of the mourning Attis *tristis* who, as a shepherd, is holding a long, curled *pedum* in his hand. ¹)

At the end of his study H. J. J. van Buchem ²) writes: "représentez-vous cette statuette placée sous le toit paternel au lararium p. ex. parmi les Lares dansants". Indeed, the dancing Attis from Nijmegen would not have made a strange impression here. Many figures of the Lares, of course, have the same attitude as Attis. Like the Lares, the Attis from Fianello even has a *cornucopia*, and both types are sometimes confused. The Eros-Dionysus ³)-Lares representations certainly influenced each other. ⁴) This is also made clear by a small bronze (height 0.17 m.) found at Carnuntum (Pl. XXXVI, 1). ⁵) It shows a male child in a slowly dancing attitude. He only wears a tiara and a nebris-like, ⁶) billowing shoulder-cape which is fastened by a circular brooch on his right shoulder. In both outstretched hands—the right one is upraised —he apparently held a torch.

All these various types give an impression of the dancers and their attributes in the theatre when they were acting the myth of Attis, his *tristia* and his *hilaria*. The oriental and twisted dancers, are often found among the terra cottas, as well as on a bronze in the

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¹) J. Carcopino, *La Basilique pythagoricienne*, Paris 1926, 49ff and Pl. V.

²) v. Buchem, *o.c.*, 48, *cf.* 46: "d'autres figures de Lares rappellent notre figurine, il se tiennent sur les pointes de pieds, comme des danseurs, et souvent, la main droite est levée, portant un rhyton."

³) As to the "Nachleben", see the bronze dancing Dionysus of Donatello (Frontispiece) inspired by Dionysian figures from Antiquity: Ch. Picard in *RA* (S. 6) XXVIII, 1947, 77. Compare also: C. M. Edsman, *Den dansende Solen* in *Religion och Bibel* XVI, 1957, 1ff.

⁴) Boehm in PWRE *s.v.* Lares, *col.* 831: "bei manchen Stücken dieser und anderer Sammlungen ist es zweifelhaft, ob es sich überhaupt um Lares, und nicht um Darstellungen von Tänzern handelt."

⁵) *Römische Limes in Österreich* VIII, 1907, 13f. *Cf.* Graillot, 475 from Spain=*Cat. Museo*, I, 1883, no. 2975: "Attis (?) nu, dansant."

⁶) *Cf.* Arnobius, V, 16: *lanarum vellera.*

Bologna Museum, [1] but it is not always easy to distinguish between Attis and his dancing priests (ἀγύρται). Ch. Picard [2] has already collected some other interesting documents regarding the dramatic festivals for Attis in the theatre. Like other theatrical performances in antiquity, the comic play followed the dramatic part. In this connection a bronze from Egypt [3] represents Attis or an actor who plays this rôle (Pl. XXXVI, 2). But much more important is a wall-painting in the Casa di Pinario in Pompeii (Pl. XXXVII). [4] Attis is standing cross-legged as a shepherd with the crook in his left hand. He has a sorrowful expression and looks at the curved knife which he will mutilate himself under a tree. Next to him a naked and winged child (Eros) is standing with the Nymphs of the Sangarius.

It is interesting to note that the masks not only allude to the theatrical plays, but that the tragic and comic masks are also able to express the feasts of the *tristia* and the *hilaria*. Firstly, there are some contorniates (Pl. XXXVIII) which show Attis standing between two trees and with two masks on the reverse side. [5] A small bronze statue from Asia Minor represents Attis showing a mask of Cybele [6] with his upraised hands (Pl. XXXIX). Another bronze figurine, probably from Italy and now in Berlin, [1]) depicts Attis lifting up a tragic mask. Like some other figures, he wears an oriental dress here which billows and shows his belly. Similar bronze statuettes are also found in the Marseilles Museum (from Etruria) [2]) (Pl. XL) and in Paris (Cabinet des Medailles). [3]) The Attis on the Dumbarton Oaks sarcophagus wears a *fibula* decorated with a mask. [4])

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[1] P. Ducati, *Bronzetto del Museo Civico di Bologna* in *ÖJh* XIII, 1910, 167ff also compares the δίνησις τῶν θεορήτων in the cult of the Magna Mater: Oros, *Etymologicum Magnum*, 276, 32.

[2] Ch. Picard in *CRAI* 1955, 237ff. For Rome: Cicero, *Har. Resp.*, 24; J. A. Hanson, *Roman Theater-Temples*, Princeton 1959, 13ff; 83f; *cf.* J. Colin, *Les sénateurs et la Mère des Dieux aux Mégalesia*: *Lucrèce IV*, 79 in *Athenaeum* XXXII, 1954, 346ff. For Lyon: P. Wuilleumier, *Fouilles de Fourvière à Lyon* in *Gallia* (Suppl. IV), 1951, 55f; Hanson, 98f.

[3] Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, Inv. no. 54. 1330; *JWAG* VII-VIII, 1944-1945, 89ff and fig. 6; Dorothy Kent Hill, *Catalogue of Classical Bronze Sculptures*, 1949, 28, no. 49 and Pl. 13. The photograph was kindly supplied by Dorothy Kent Hill. *Cf.* K. A. Neugebauer, *El Esclavo Attis* in *Corona de Estudios.......Soc. española de antropologia, étnografia y prehistoria*, 1941, 201ff; date: 1st cent. A.D.

[4] Ch. Picard in *CRAI* 1955, 244f, who wrongly interprets one of the women as a Muse holding a theatre mask. K. Weitmann, *Castelseprio*, Pl. 20, no. 37; Alinari 43180; V. Spinazzola, *Pompei alla luce degli Scavi nuovi di Via Abbondanza*, II, Roma 1953, figs. 669-670. For Attis with *falx* see above p. 36 n. 3.

[5] M. Bernhart, *Handbuch zur Münzkunde der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Halle 1926, Taf. 43,1.

[6] Paris, Louvre, Inv. no. 435; de Longpérier, 95, no. 444; de Ridder,

It is regrettable that no ancient Metroon has ever been completely excavated using modern methods. Such an investigation would certainly reveal more information on the cult itself and on the dramatic and other ceremonies.

However, there are two sanctuaries which, I believe, already tell us somewhat more about the masks and the *tristia* and *hilaria*. In the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods on the Mamurt-Kaleh near Pergamum, [5]) which A. Conze and P. Schazmann excavated in 1909, they found the foundations, some inscriptions belonging to the Attalids, and a large number of terra cottas. Among these terra cottas there were various representations of the Mother Goddess. Only one figure of Attis was found, but there were also several masks of comic actors. [6]) Many years later P. Romanelli more accurately excavated parts of the temple of Cybele on the Palatine, [7]) which was founded after the return of the Roman ambassadors from Pergamum to Rome. He also found a large number of various types of terra cottas which date from the first

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69, no. 434. A marble mask of Cybele is in the Capitoline Museum: Stuart Jones, 102, no. 43 and Pl. 35; C. Pietrangeli, *I monumenti dei Culti orientali*, Rome 1951, 18, no. 25.

[1]) Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Inv. no. 8194; *AA* VII, 1892, III, no. 12; Leipoldt, *Die Umwelt des Christentums*, fig. 148.

[2]) W. Froehner, *Antiquités du Musée de Marseille*, 1897, no. 781 (=2781); F. Benoit, *Les trésors d'art du Musée d'archéologie. Centenaire du Musée* 1863-1963, no. 37.

[3]) Babelon-Blanchet, *Bronzes*, 432, no. 980: "acteur tragique soutenant son masque des deux mains."

[4]) See above p. 39 n. 3.

[5]) A. Conze-P. Schatzmann, *Mamurt-Kaleh* (JdI, Erg. H. IX), Berlin 1911; E. Ohlemutz, *Die Kulte und Heiligtümer der Götter in Pergamum*, Würzburg 1940, 174ff with bibliography.

[6]) Conze-Schatzmann, Pl. XII, 12; 16; 17.

[7]) P. Romanelli, *o.c.*, figs 87; 88; 90.

half of the first century A.D. (see p. 18). Votive terra cottas of a lion, a hen and a bull were found in Mamurt-Kaleh. The same gifts occur in the Palatine sanctuary. Whereas only one Attis was found in the Pergamenean temple, a great many figures of the Phrygian youth were discovered in the Metroon. Sometimes he is portrayed as a child, and sometimes he is a youth. There is even one terra cotta which shows an old man with the *pedum*. ¹) As on terra cotta figurines from Amphipolis, Attis is sometimes in winter dress ²) and his head and shoulders are completely covered. Apart from the many votive gifts representing women, there are also Dionysiac heads decorated with wreaths of grapes. Most illustrative are some other objects: one tragic mask (with *syrinx* ?); comic and caricature busts and heads of persons wearing a special sort of flat cap, which is sometimes also worn by Attis. I am inclined to believe that these terra cotta votive gifts might illustrate just when they were offered during the Attis ceremonies. The terra cotta tops, ³) which were also discovered in the Cabirion in Thebes ⁴) and elsewhere, were offered to Attis the child. Terra cotta representations of children were also found as offerings to either the Mother, who is the protector of the children, or Attis, who is so frequently represented in his childhood. The terra cotta gifts show his youth as a shepherd, his sorrow and his joy. They also tell of the power of the Goddess who remains the principal figure in the drama, although sometimes she plays her rôle in the background.

Of course, the veneration and the ceremonies of the divine couple have connections with many other cults of the Mediterranean world since, during all the periods of his existence, Man always looks for examples to follow. The sacred drama of Cybele and Attis is firstly a

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¹) Romanelli, *o.c.*, fig. 45.

²) See above pp. 20; 39. Robinson, *Olynthus*, XIV, 12 gives many examples; see also Pottier-Reinach, *Nécr. Myrina*, Pl. XLIII, no. 6; *TK* II, 239, 4. Pottier feels that the figurines "represent a child who has stolen the himation and *causia* of an ephebe, and amuses himself in his too large garb". Perdrizet correctly stated that the costume is becoming to the child, and that he wraps himself up because he is cold. I believe that the representation lays stress on Attis'life during the winter before his awakening in March (see Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 69).

³) Romanelli, *o.c.*, 289 and figs. 62-63.

⁴) Winnefeld in *AM* XIII, 1888, 426ff.

drama of nature and of those human emotions through which nature exists. [1]) Though Attis finally commits *hybris,* [2]) he must be punished. But this punishment finally ends in an agreement between gods and men, and the treaty is eternal: the young god sleeps and dies, but he will awaken and arise, and this mystery will be brought about by the Mother of the Gods.

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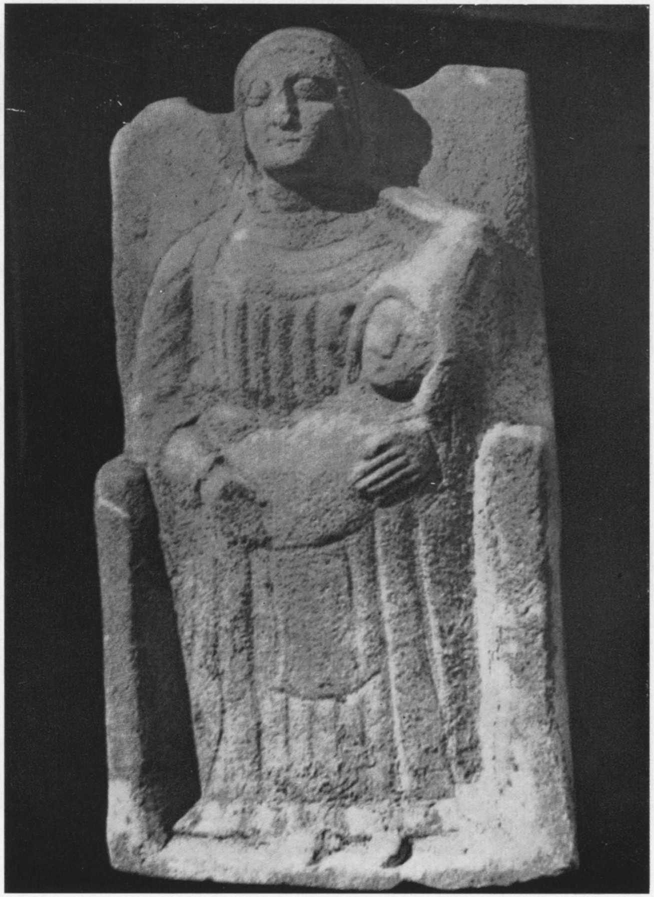
[1]) G. F. Merkel, *Die Mystik im Kulturleben der Völker,* Hamburg 1940, 103; C. M. Edsman, *o.c.,* 25 (*tripudium Solis*); G. van der Leeuw, *Wegen en Grenzen,* Amsterdam 1948 = *Vom Heiligen in der Kunst,* Gütersloh 1957; Th. P. van Baaren, *Dans en Religie,* Zeist 1962.

[2]) *Cf.* Lucretius, *RN,* II, 614ff:

Gallos attribuunt, quia numen qui violarint
Matris et ingrati genitoribus sint inventi,
Significare volunt indignos esse putandos,
Vivam progeniem qui in oras luminis edant.

PLATE I



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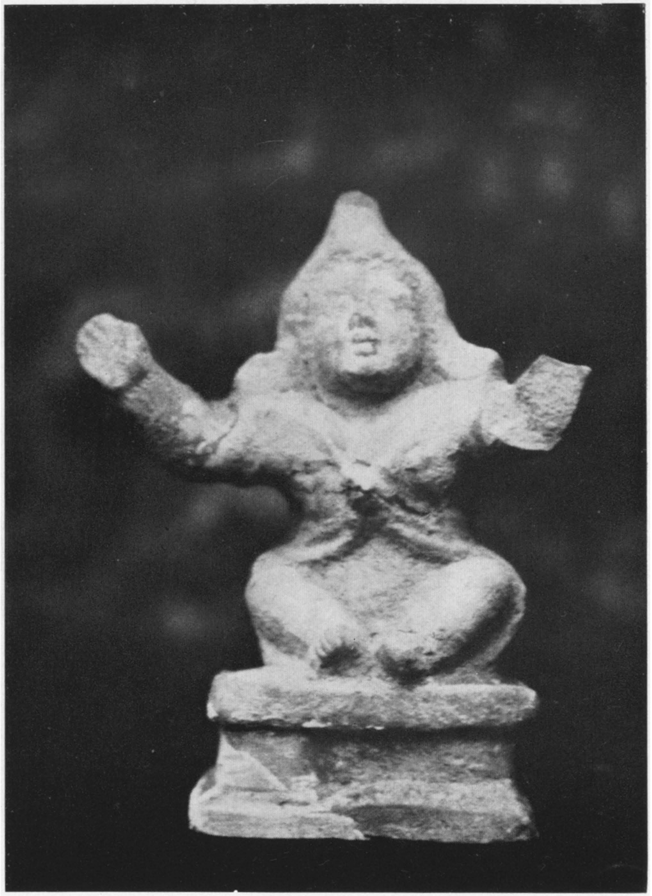

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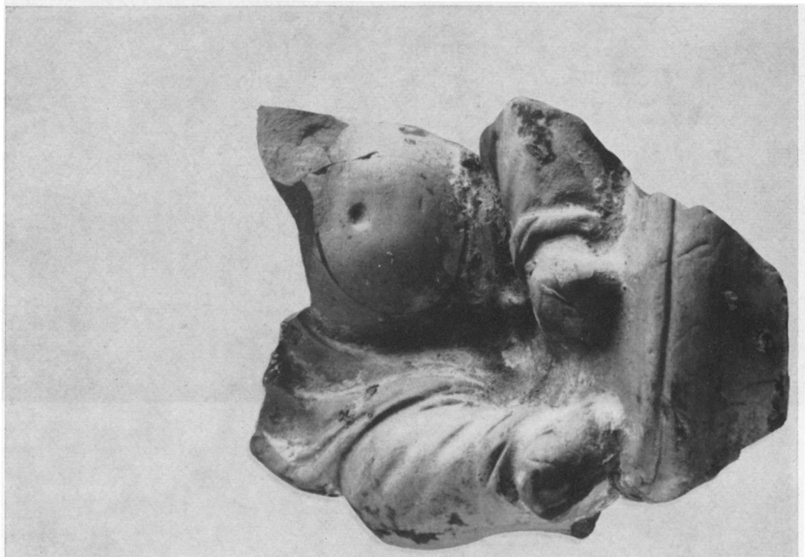

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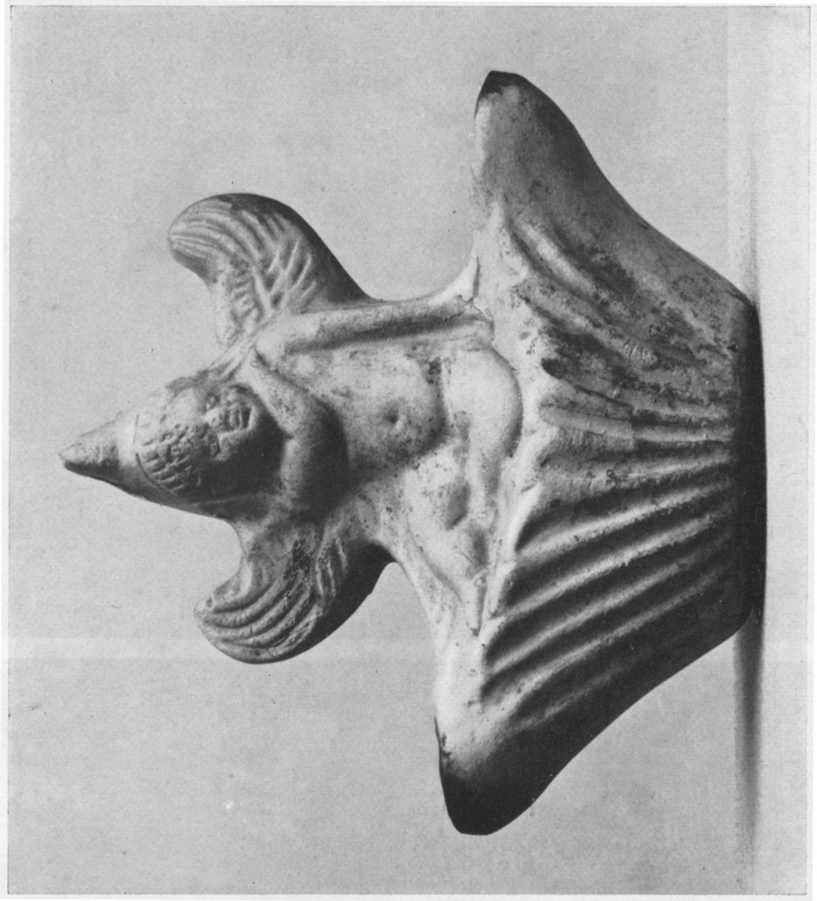

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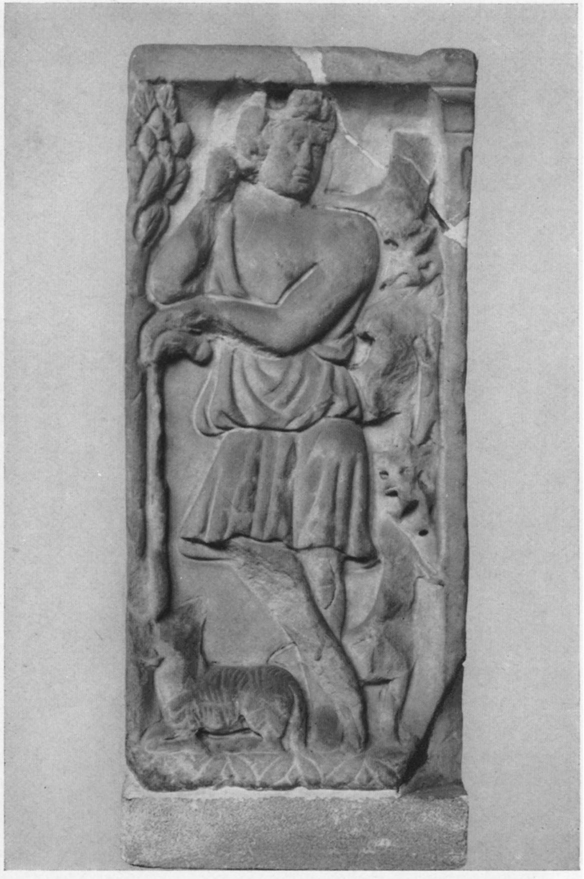

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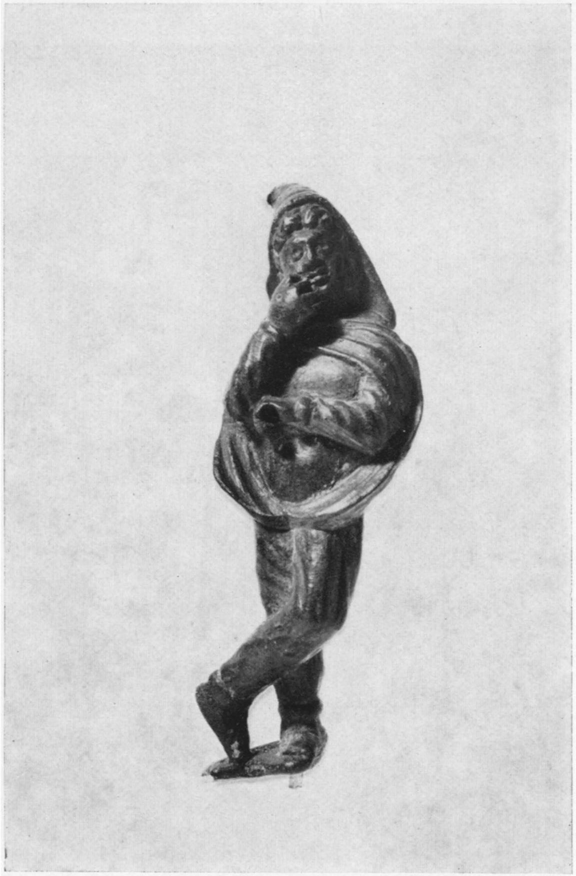

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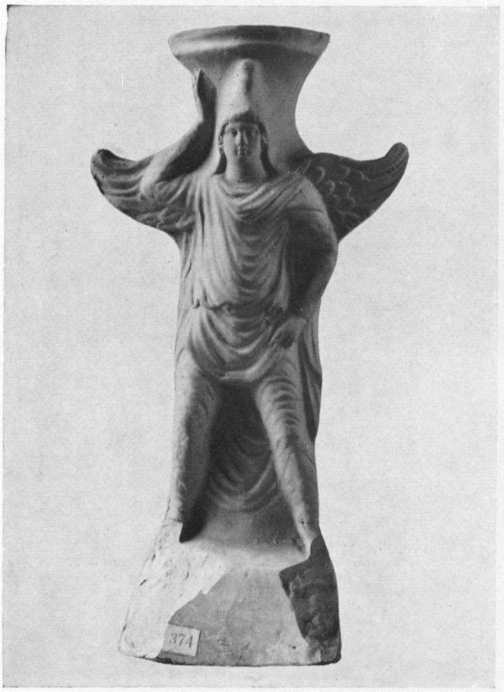

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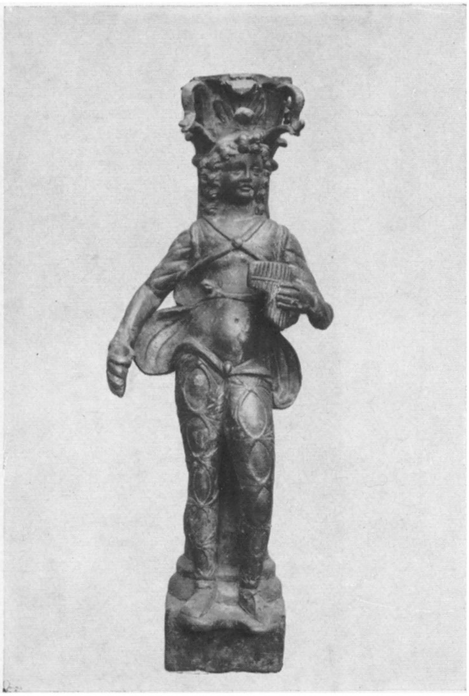

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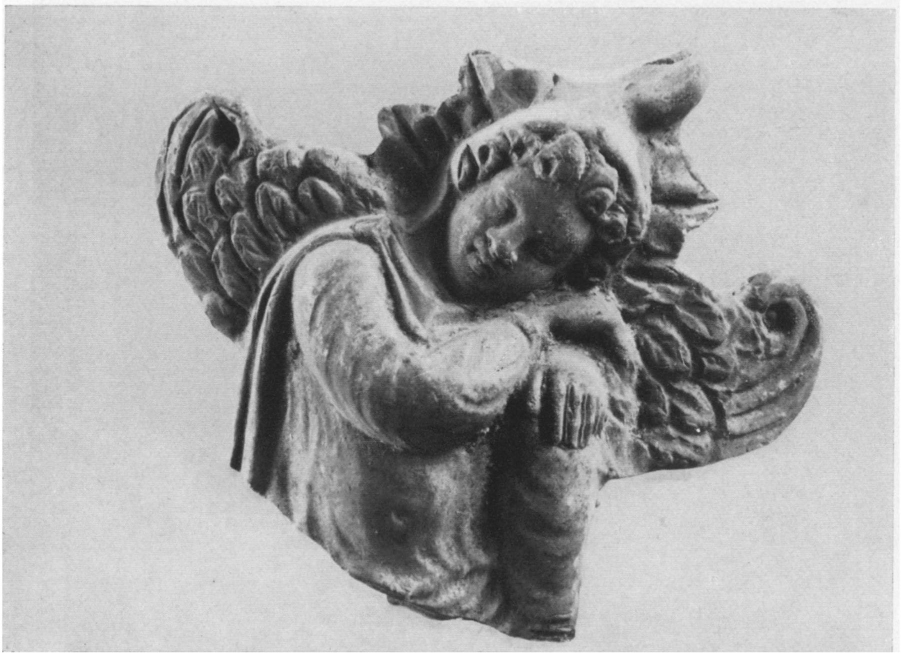

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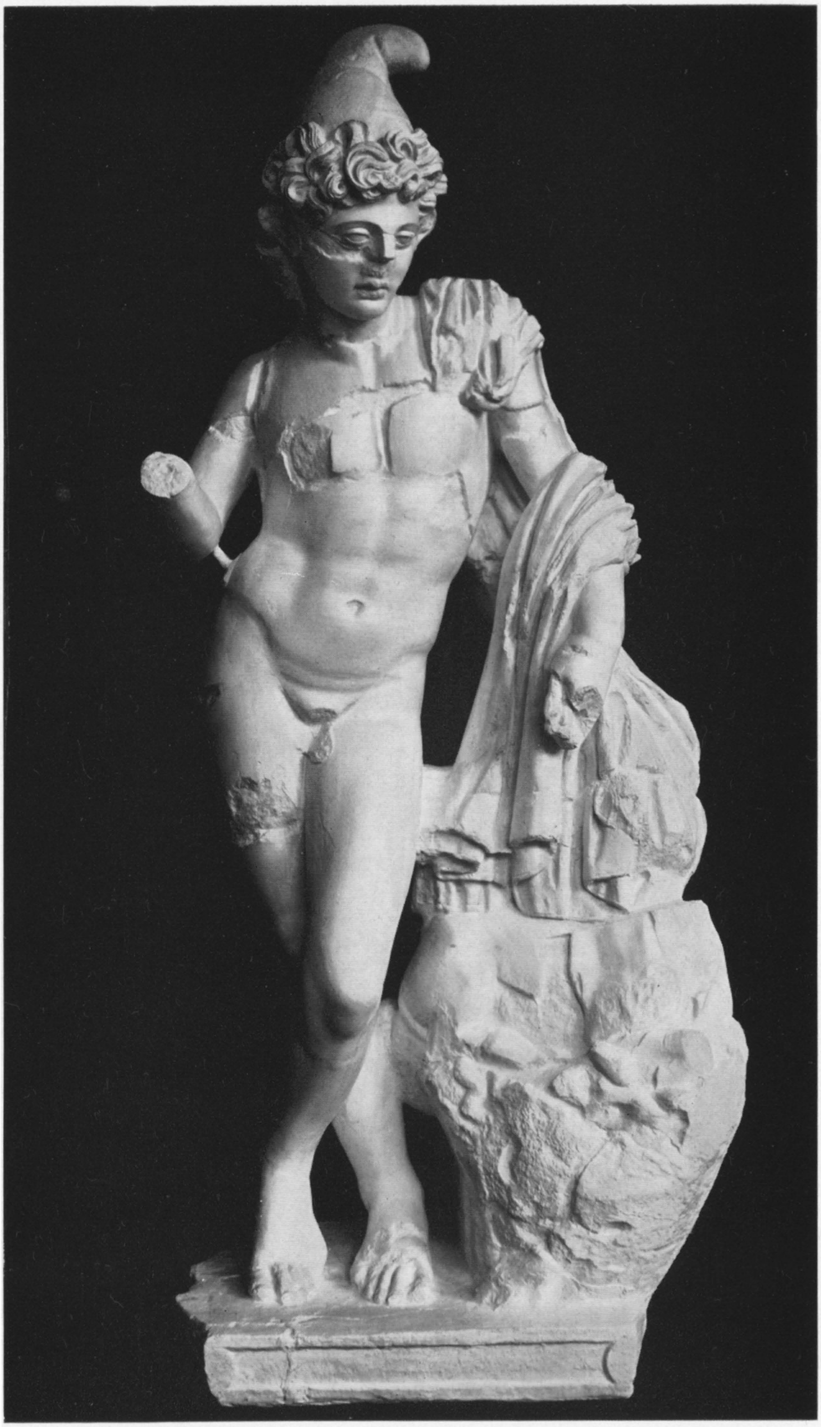

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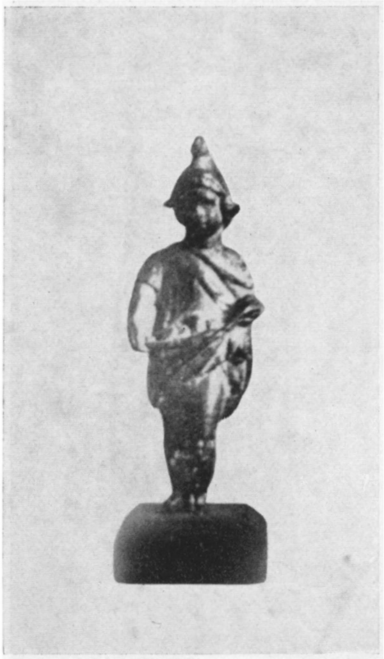

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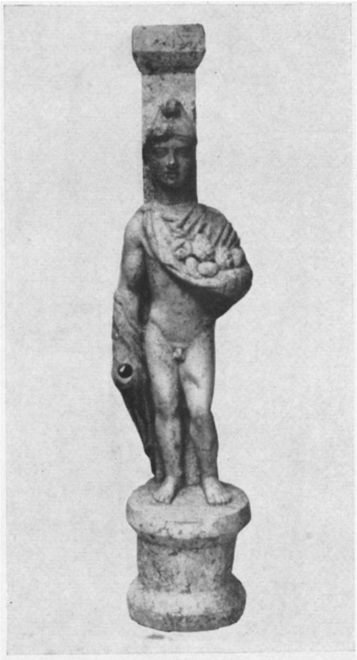

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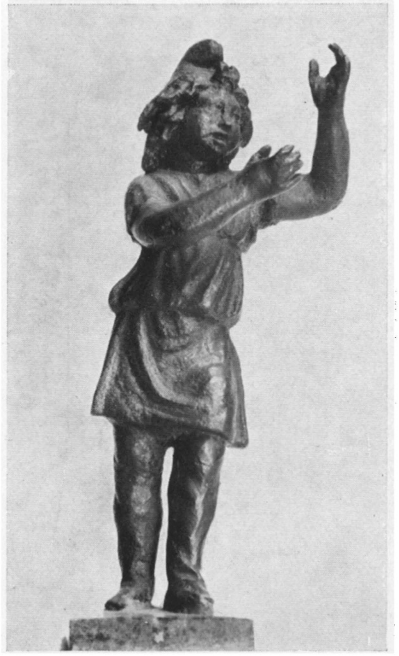

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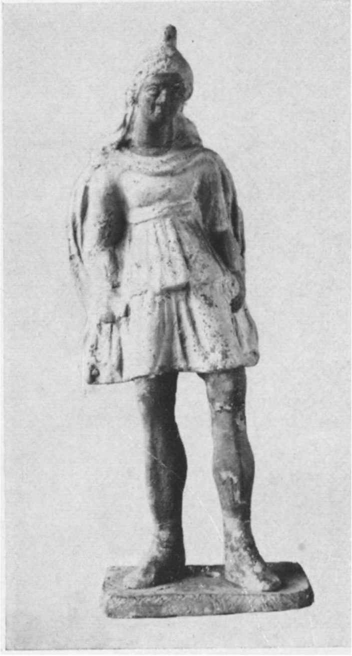

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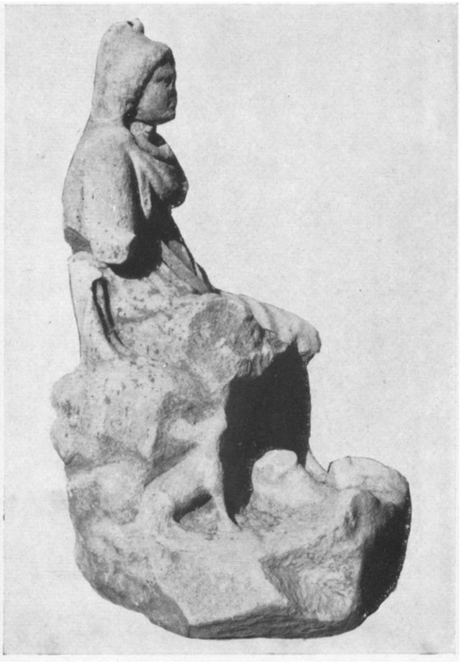

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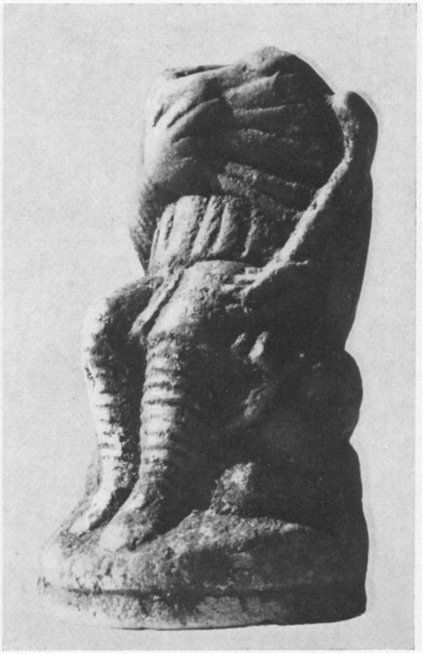

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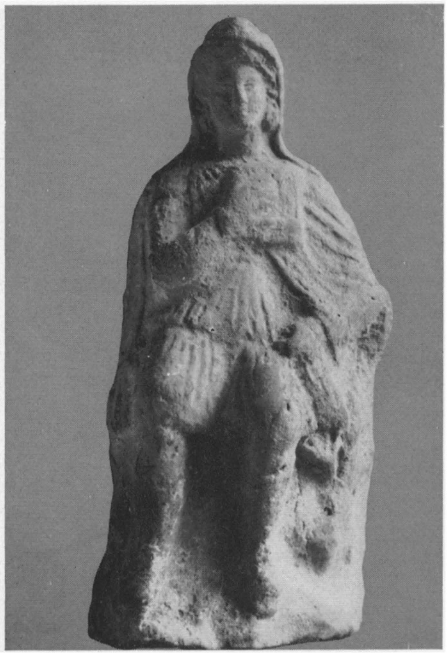

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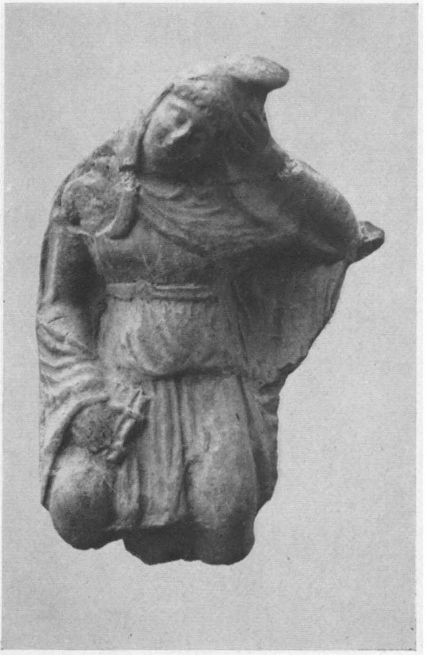

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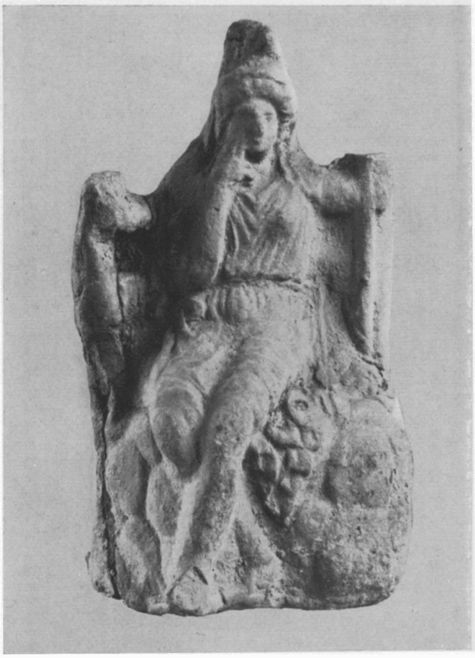

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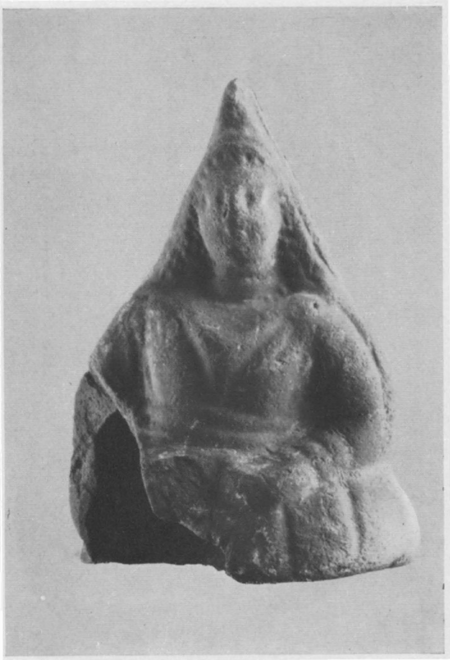

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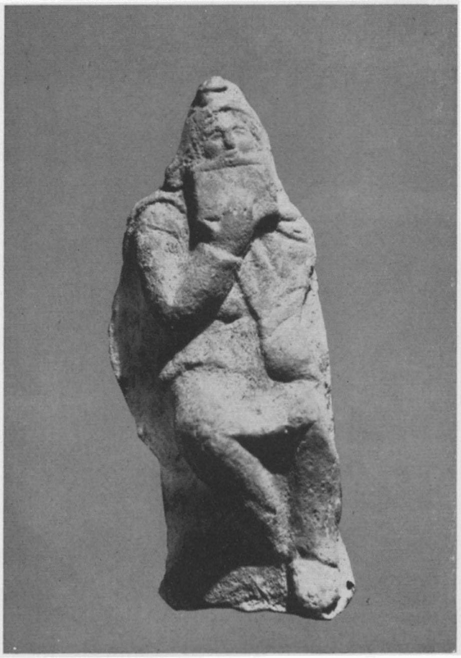

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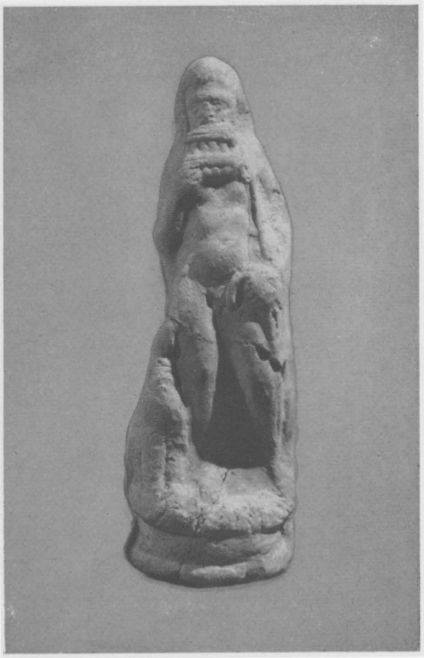

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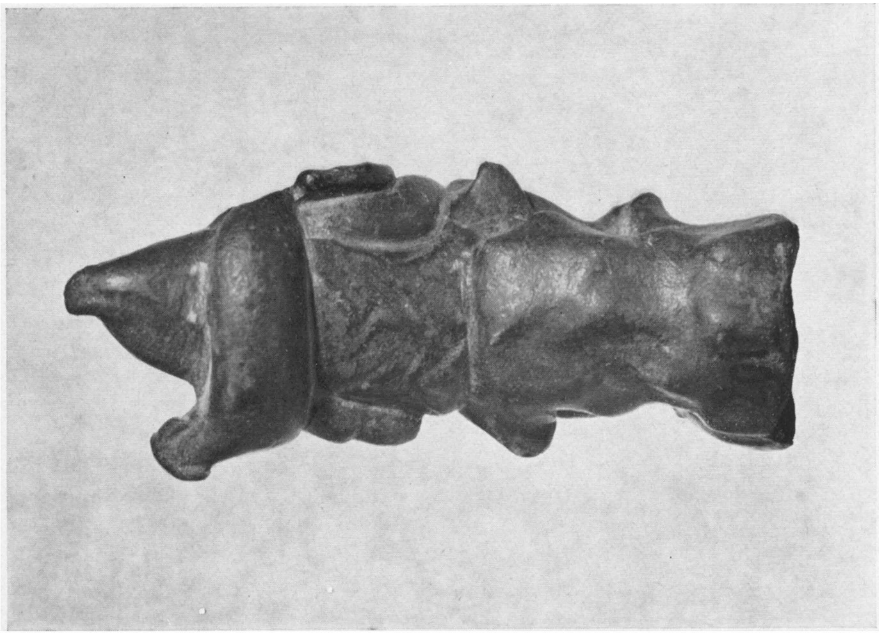

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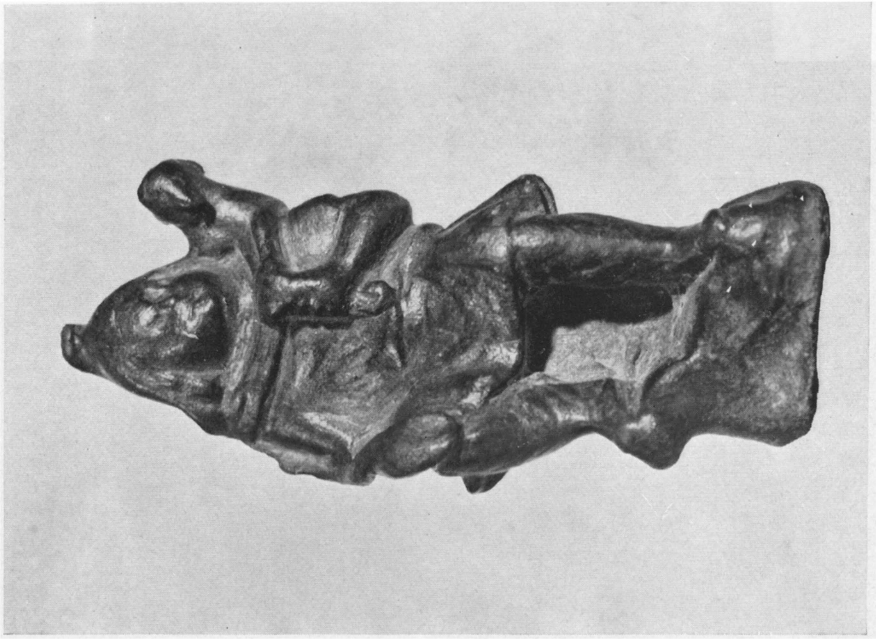

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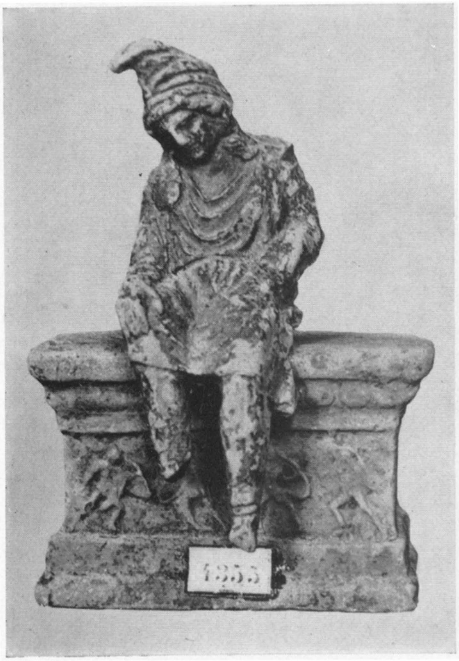

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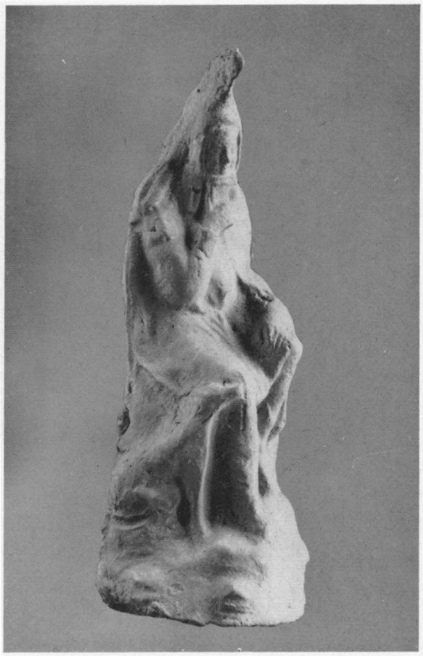

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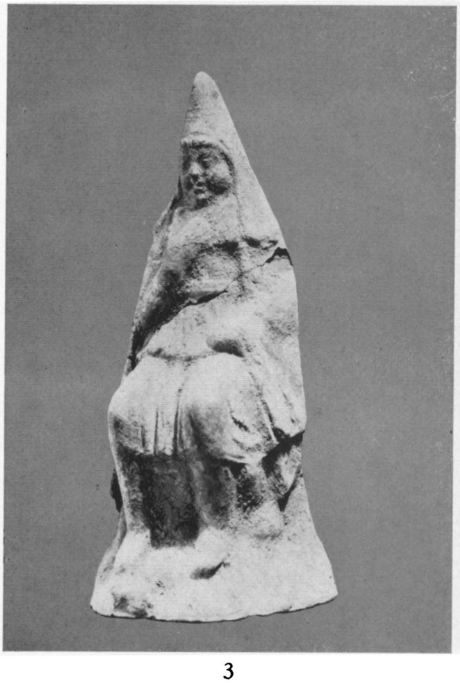

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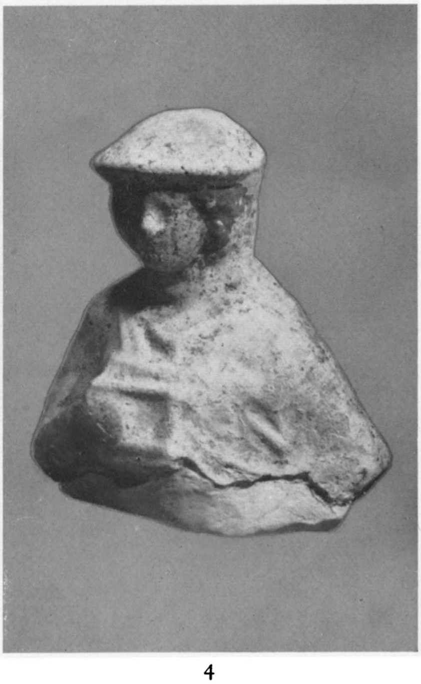

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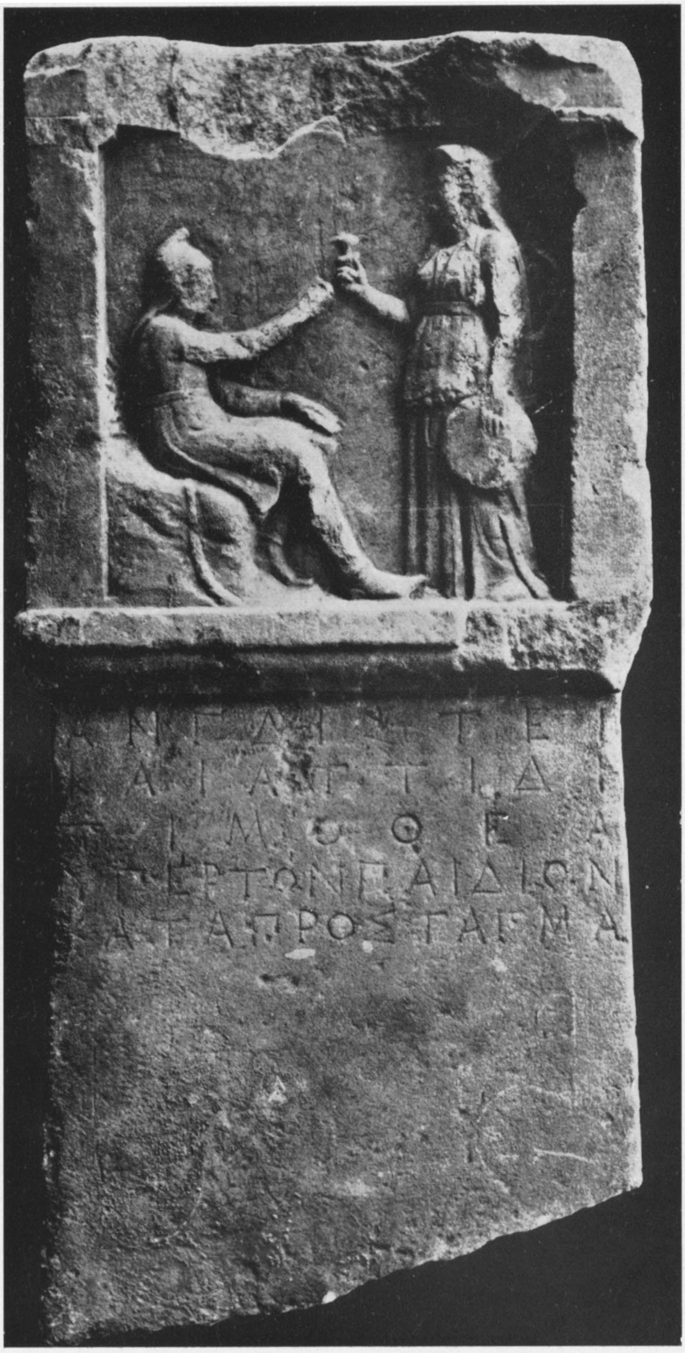
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ΤΙΜΟΘΕΑ
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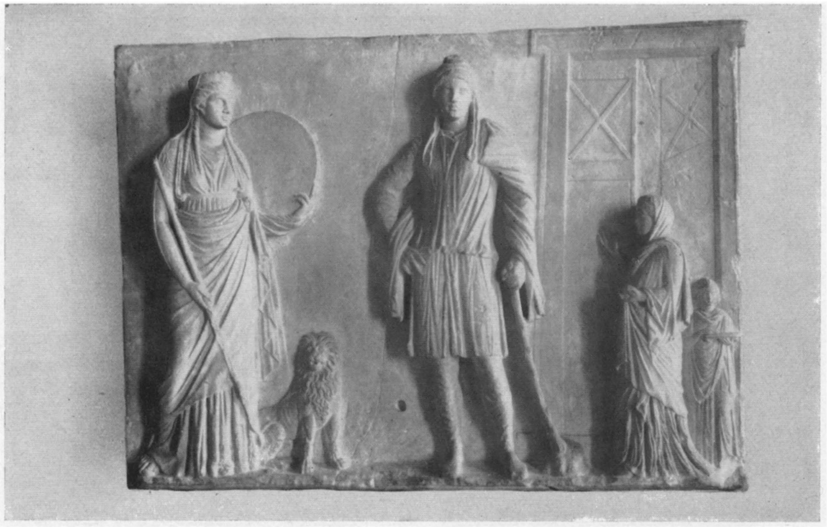
ΑΤΑΠΡΟΣΤΑΓΜΑ

PLATE XII



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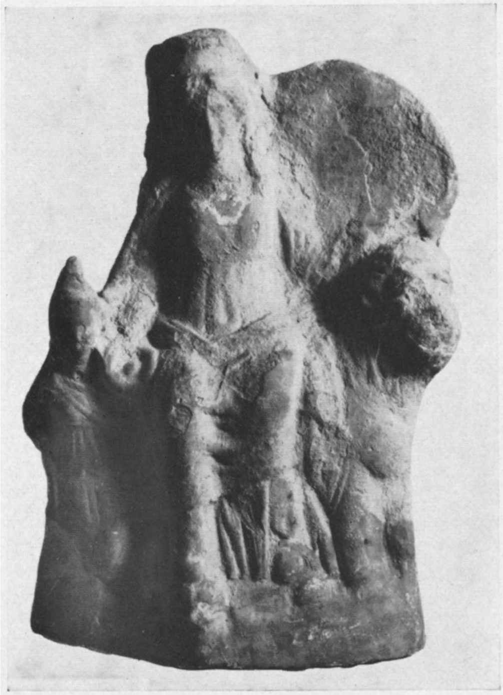

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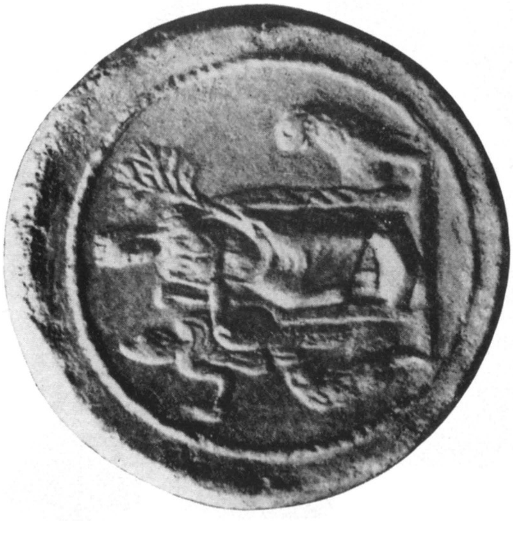
PLATE XIV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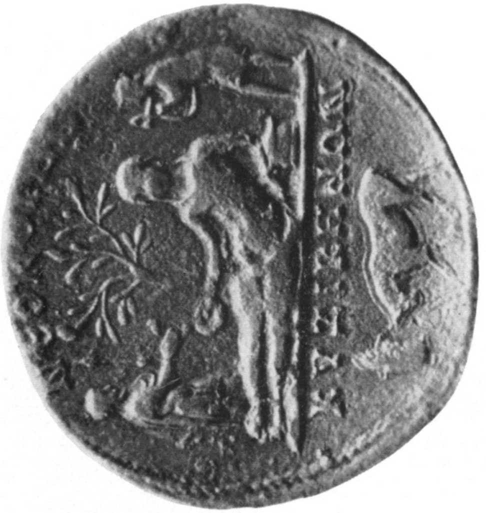
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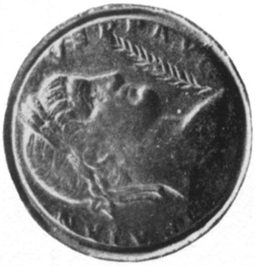
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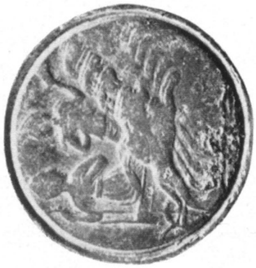
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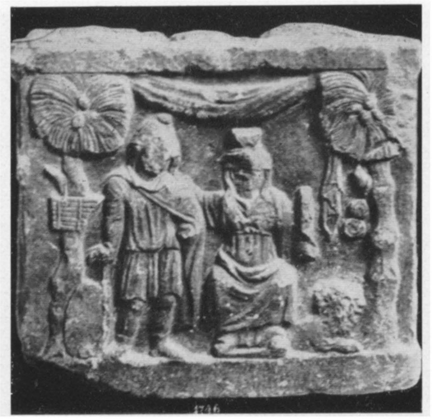

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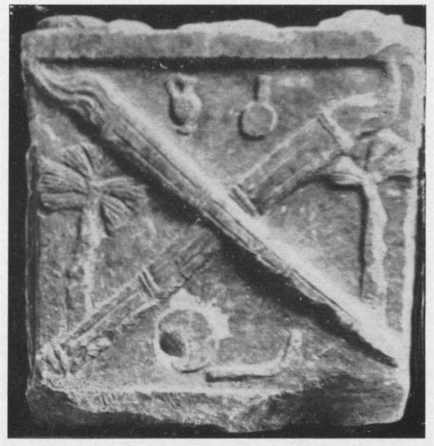

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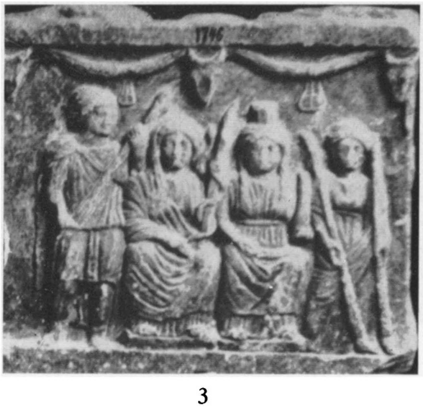

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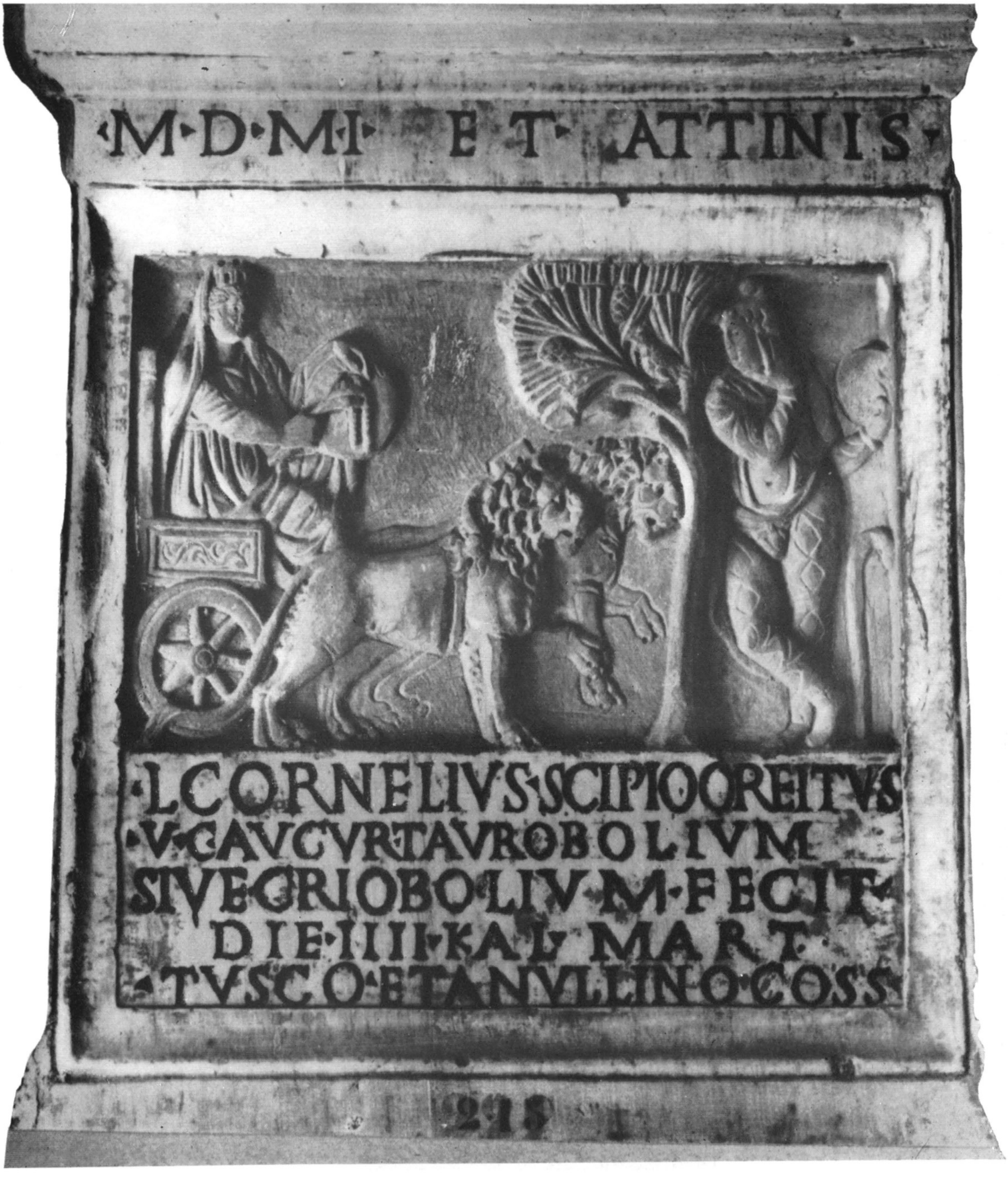
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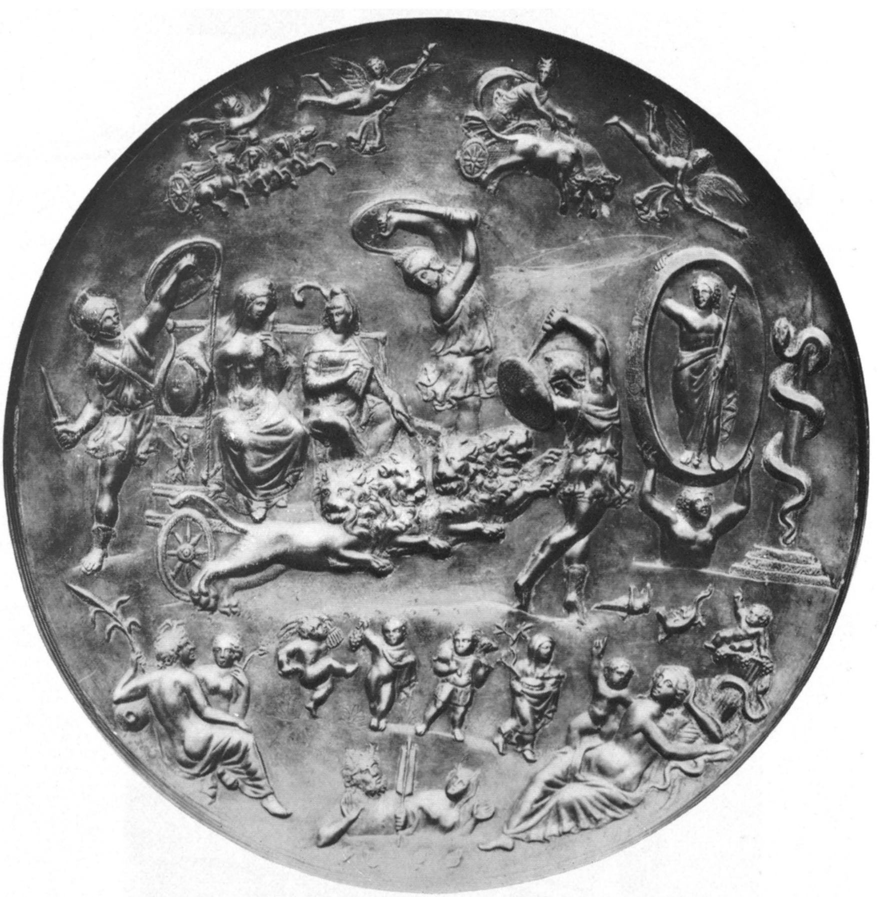
218

PLATE XVII



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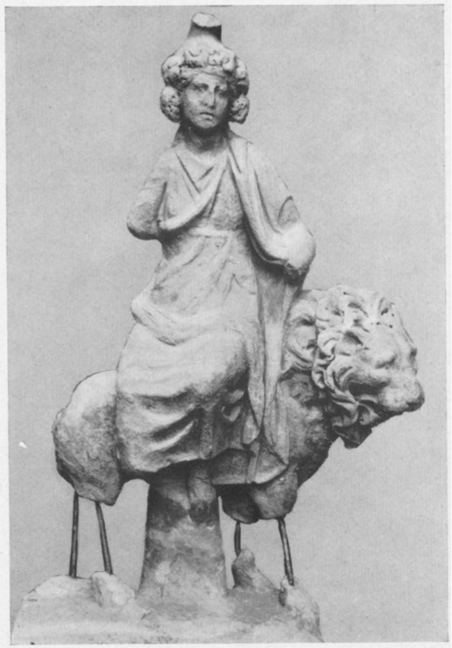

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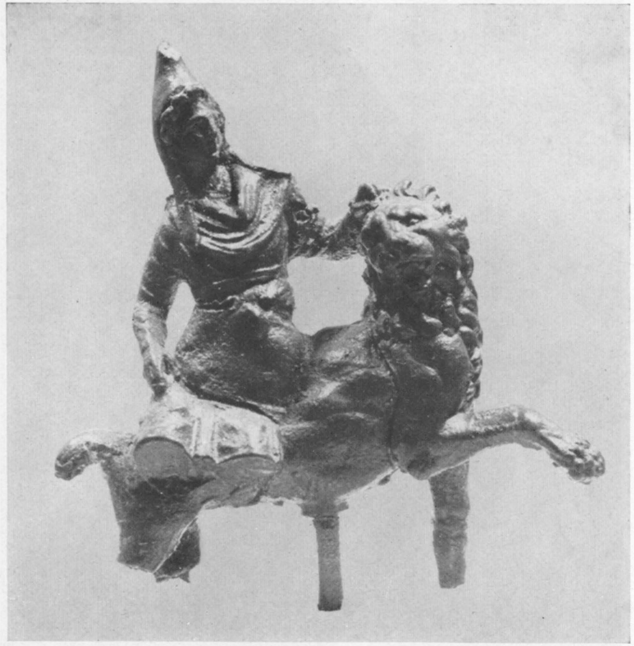

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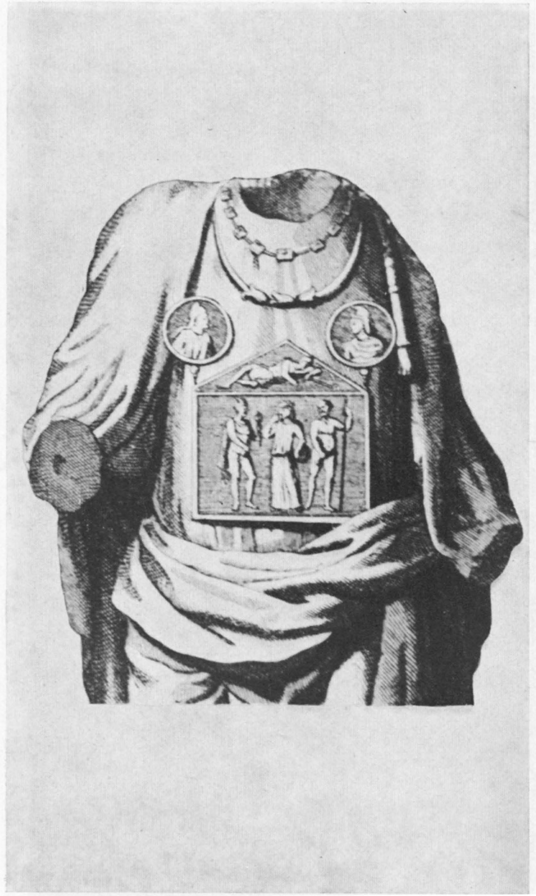

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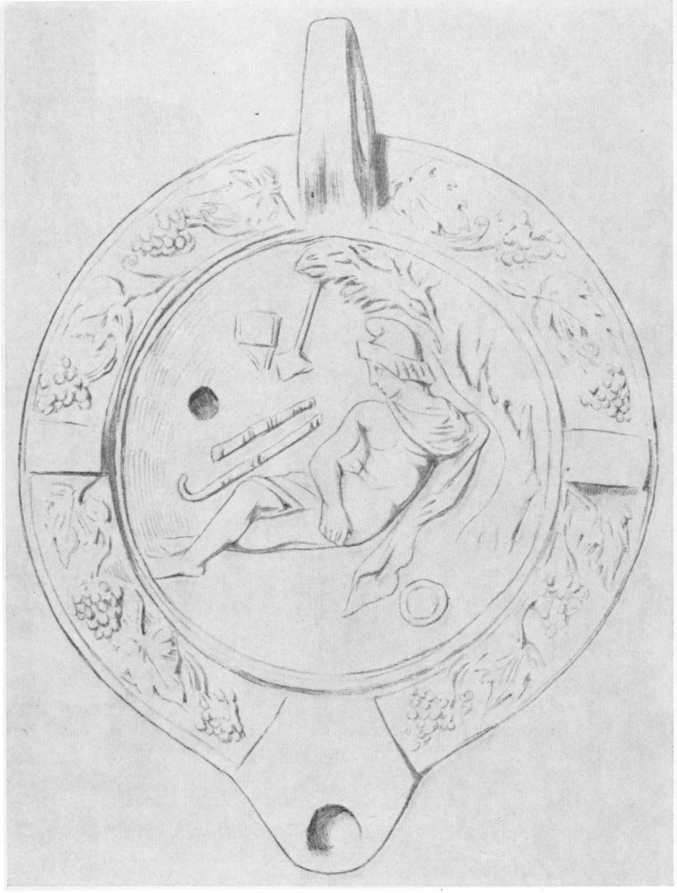

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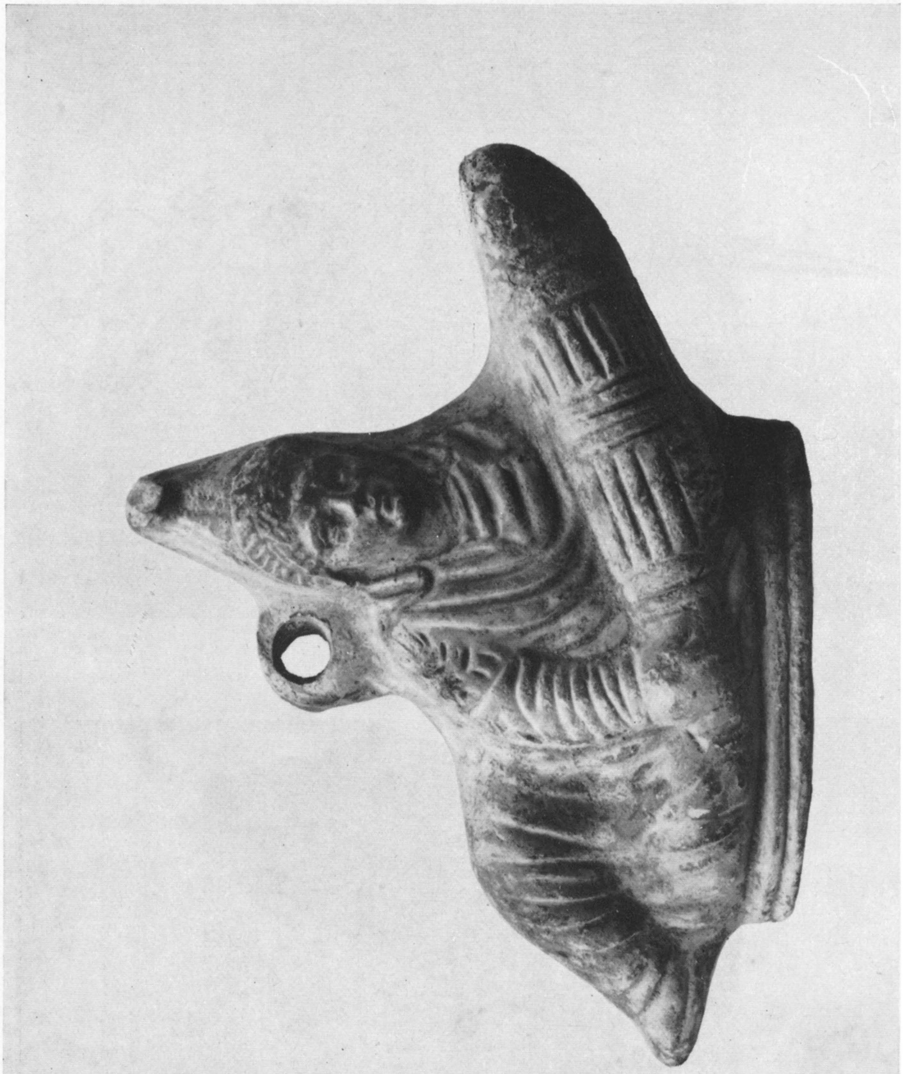
PLATE XX



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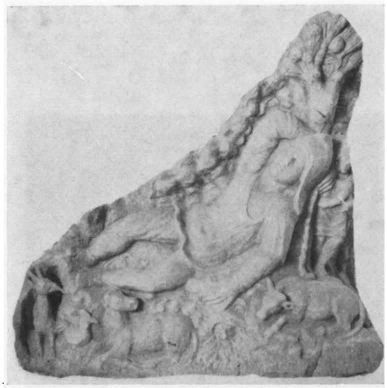

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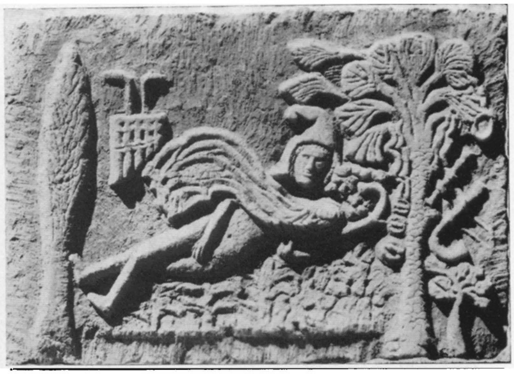

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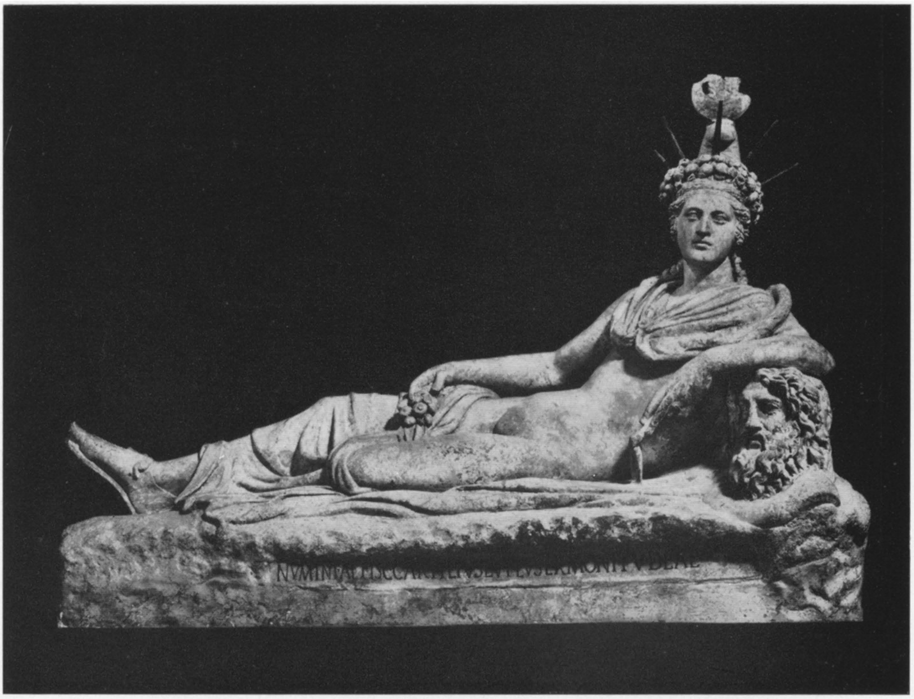

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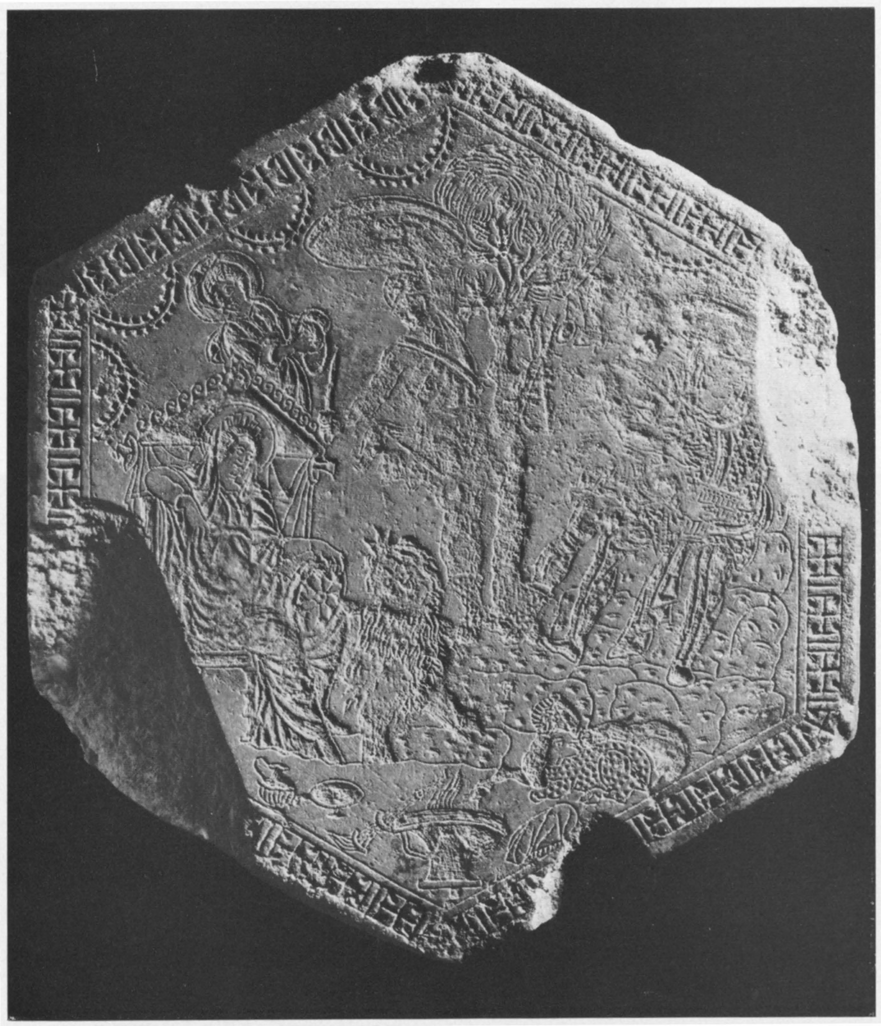

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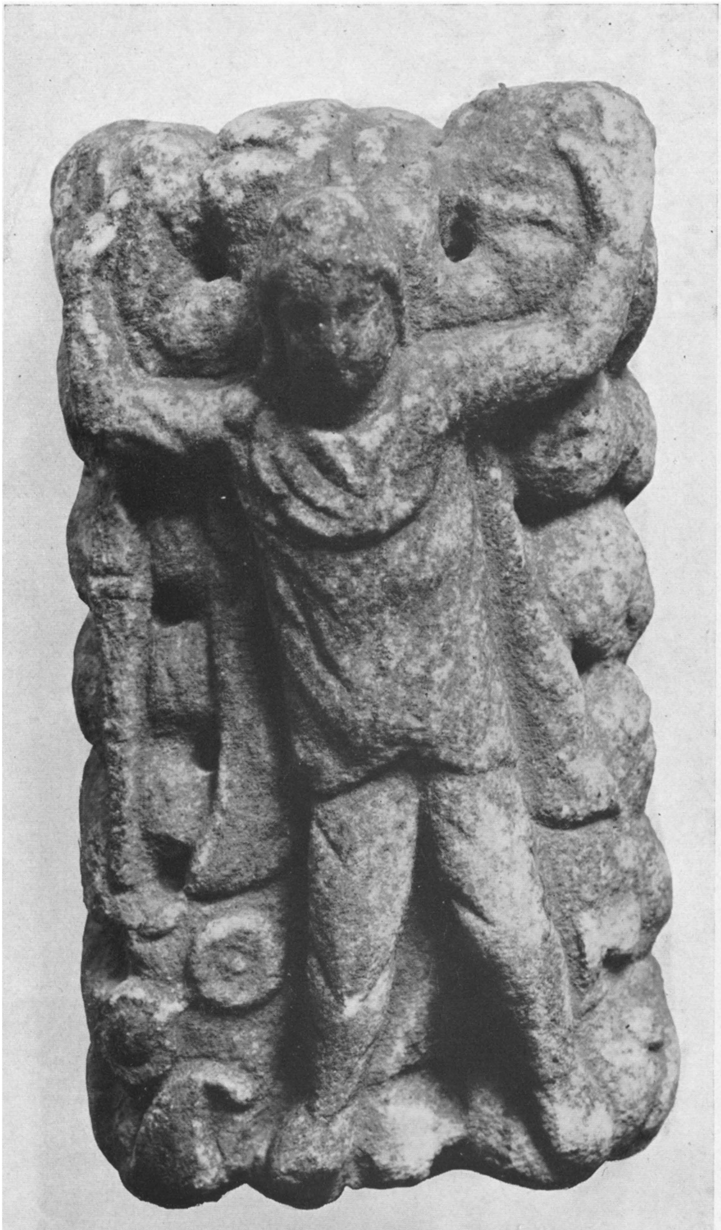

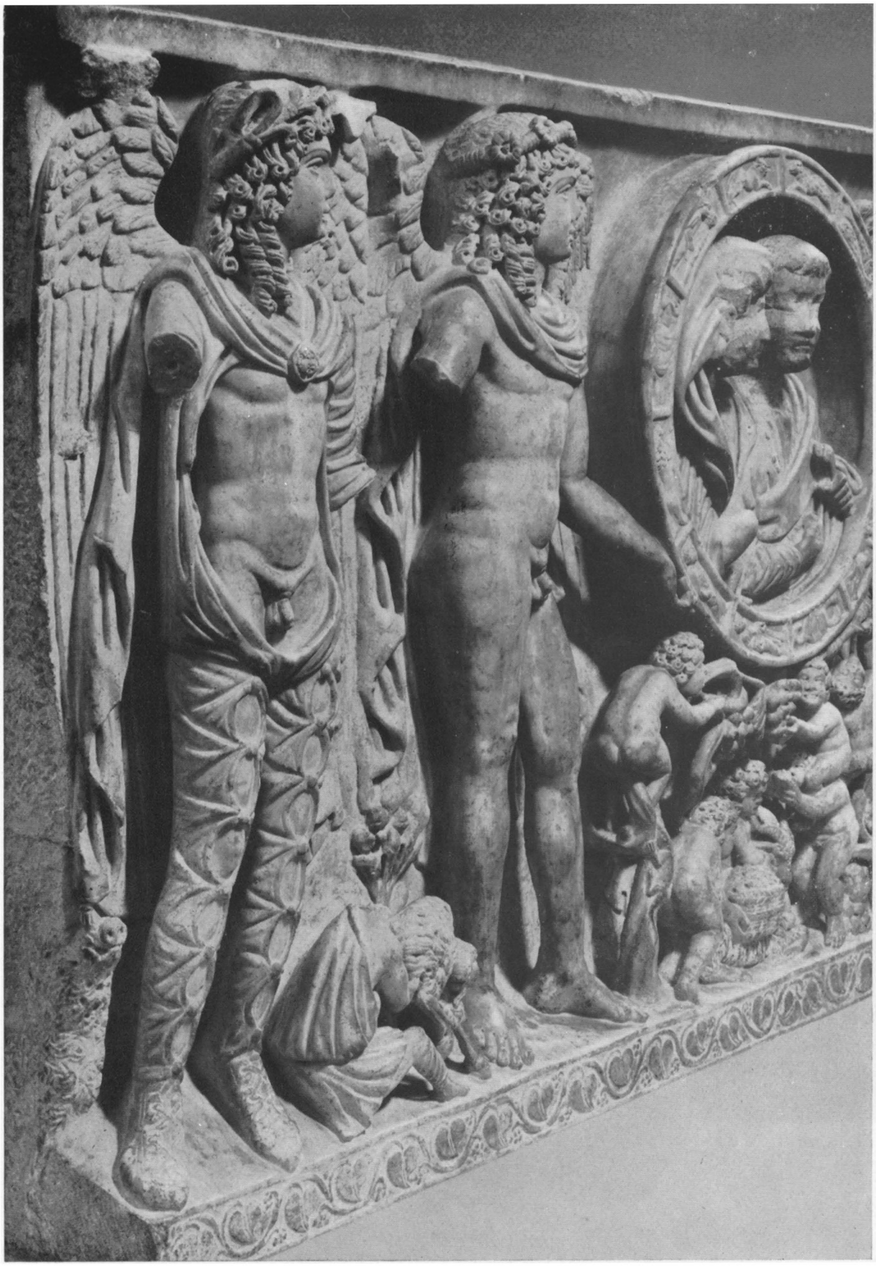

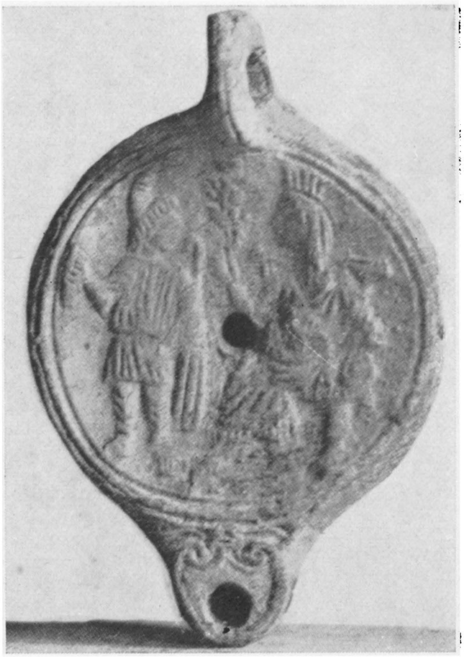

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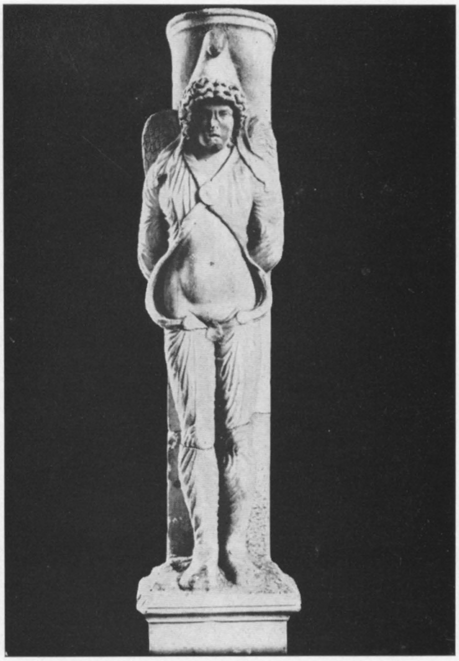

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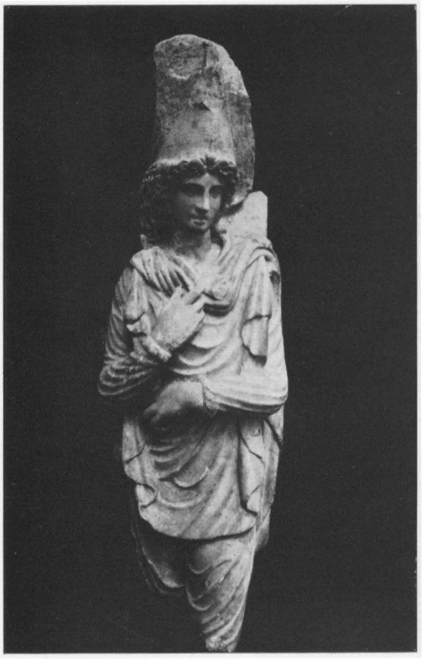

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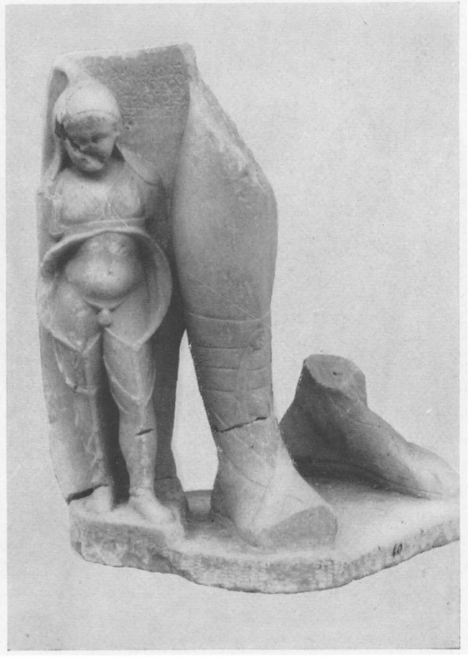

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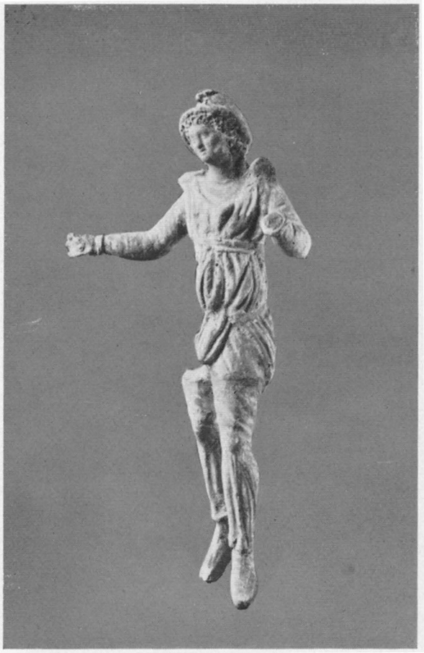

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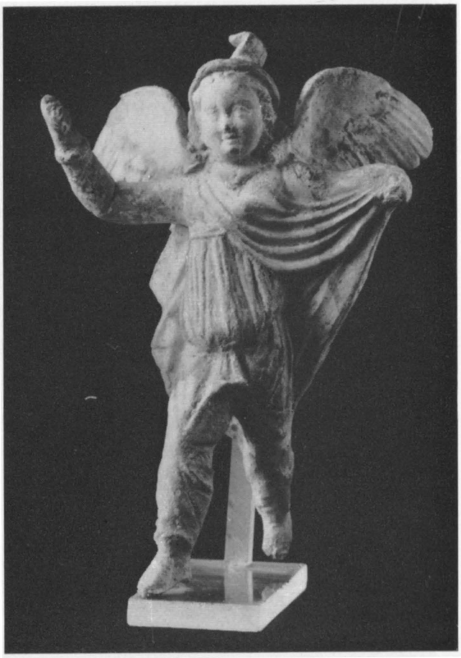

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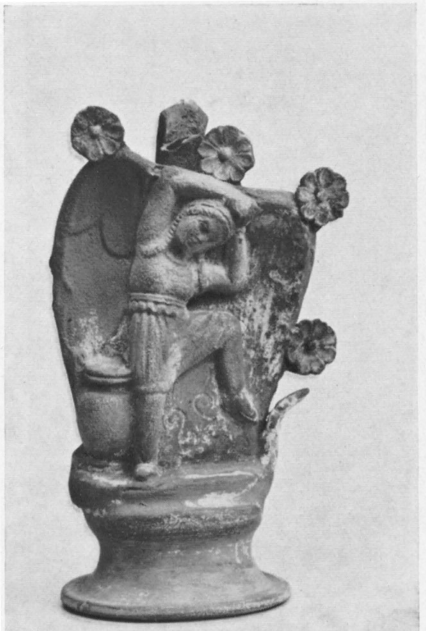

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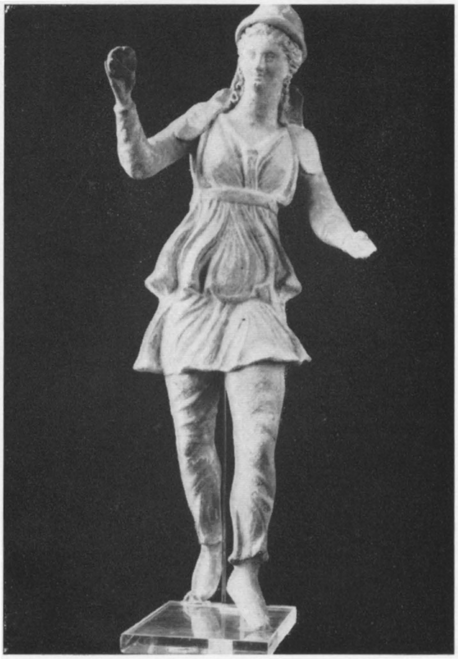

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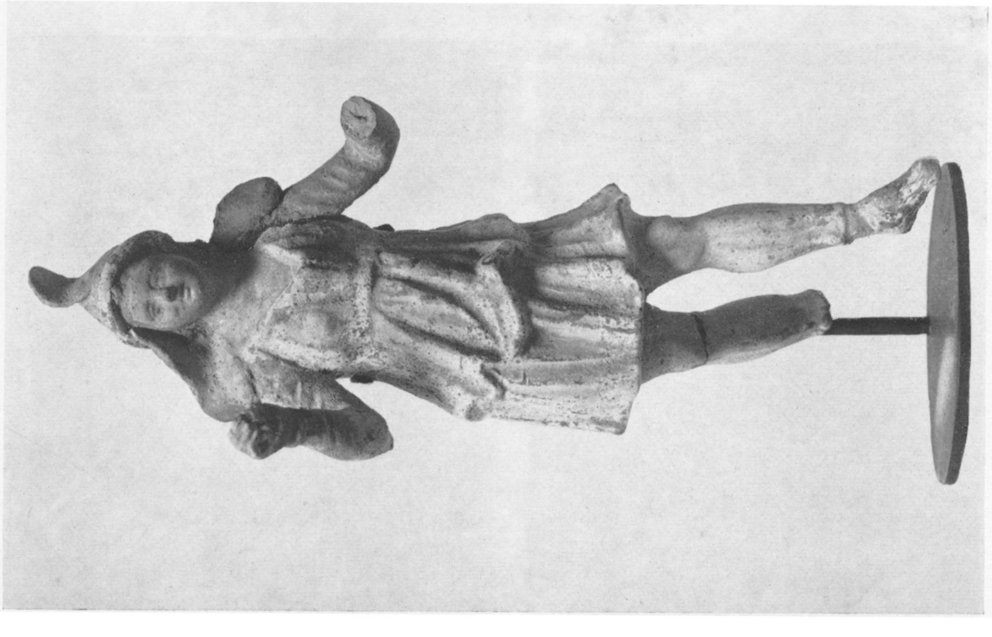

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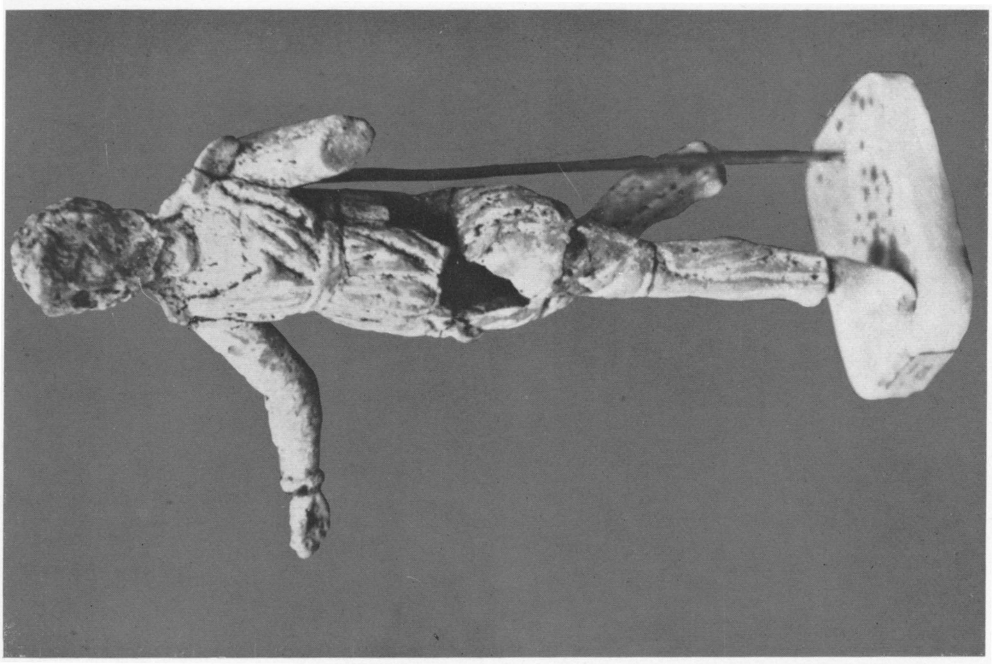

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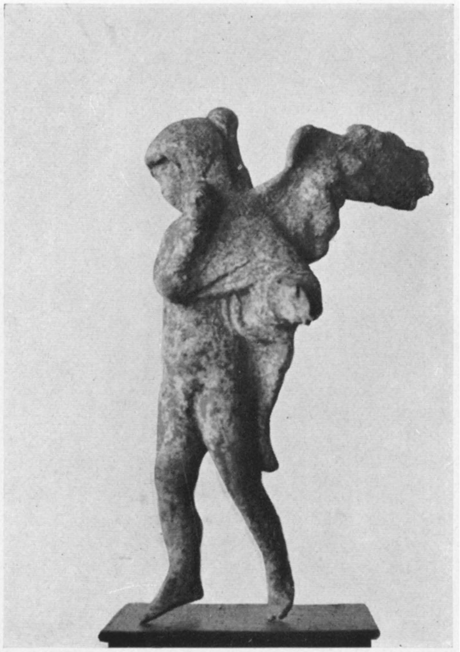

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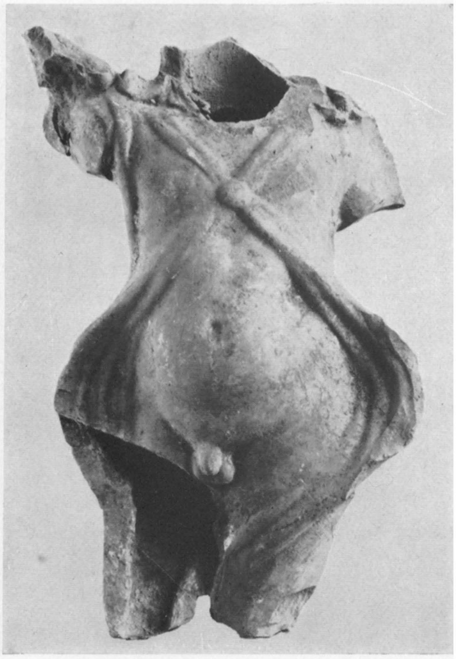

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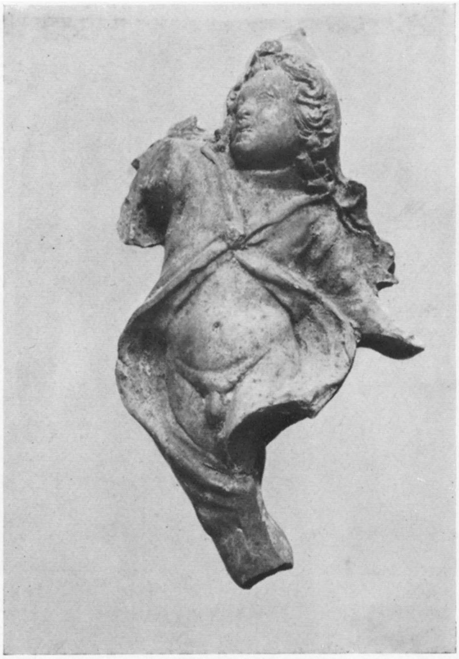

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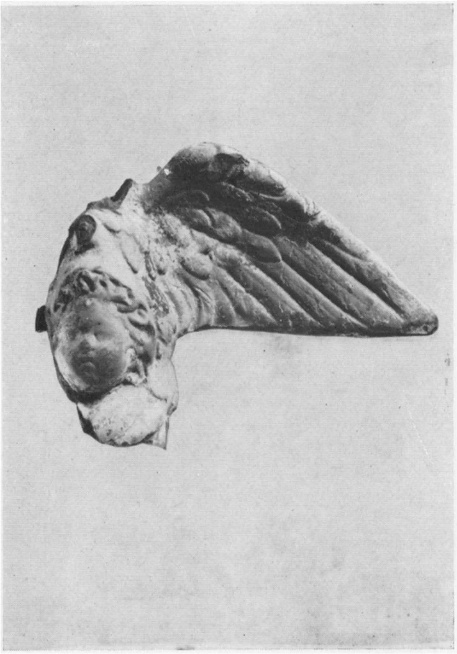

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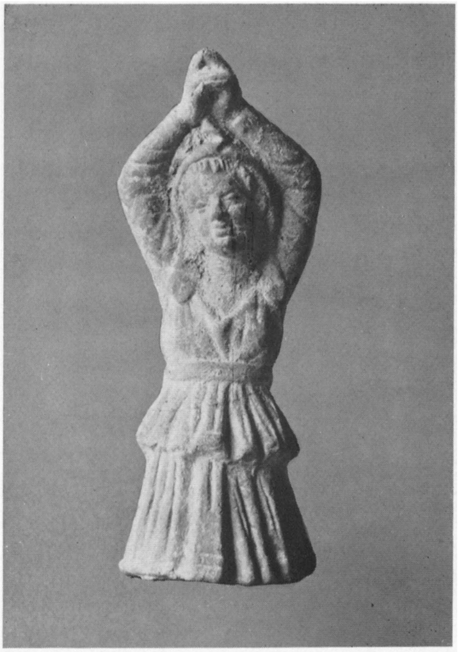

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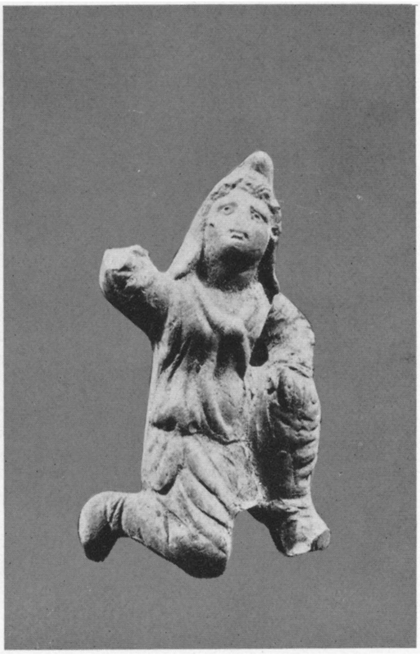

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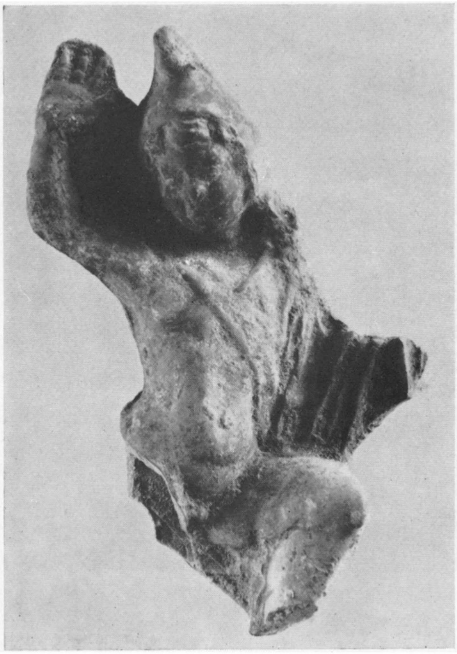

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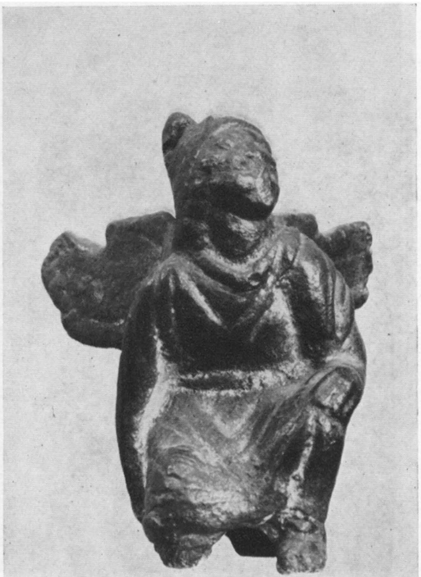

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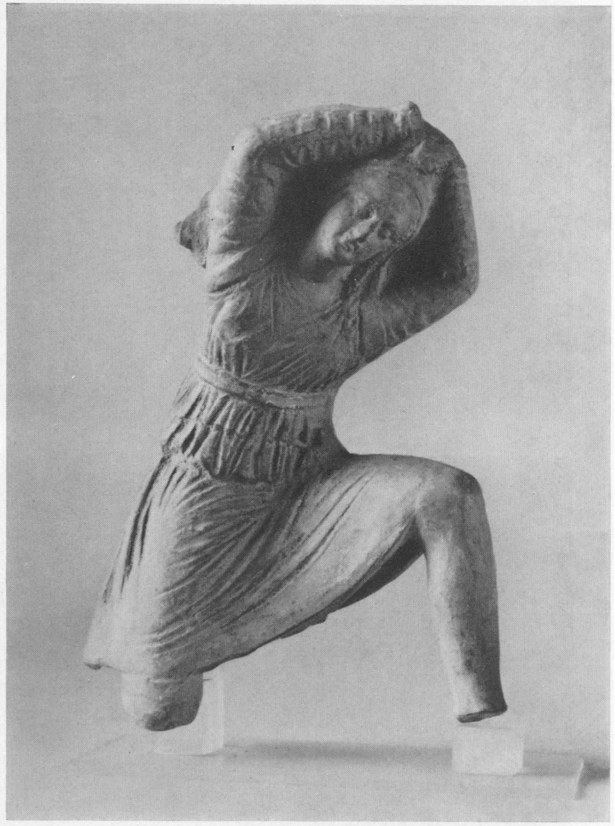

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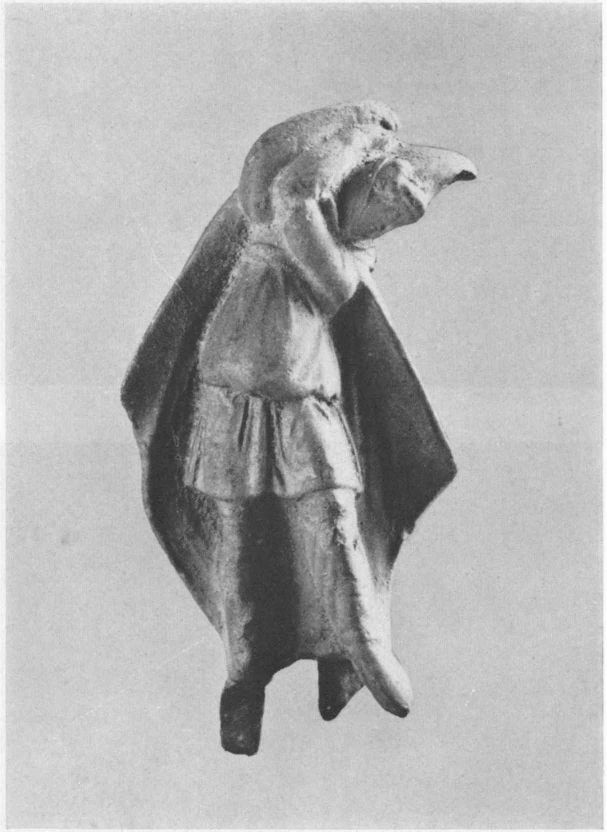

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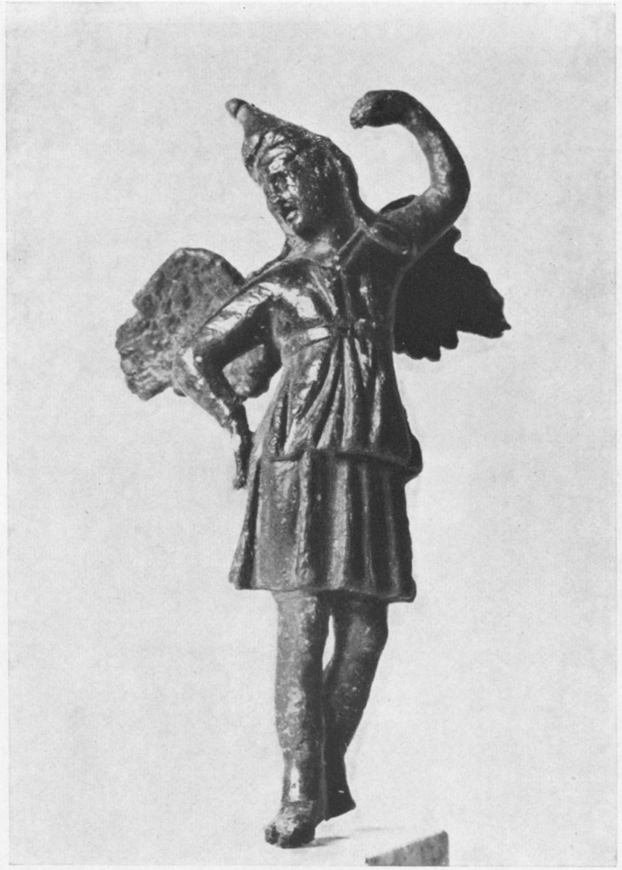

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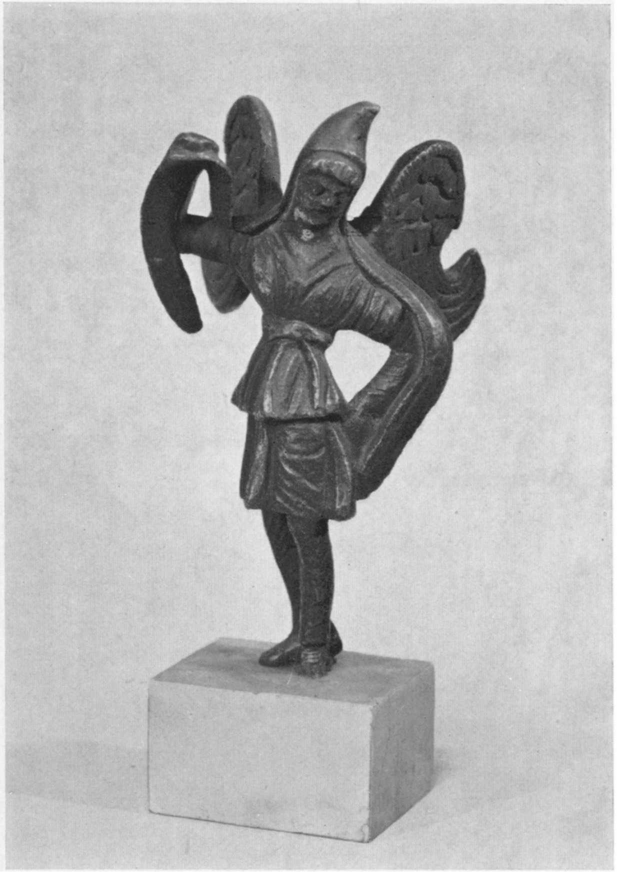

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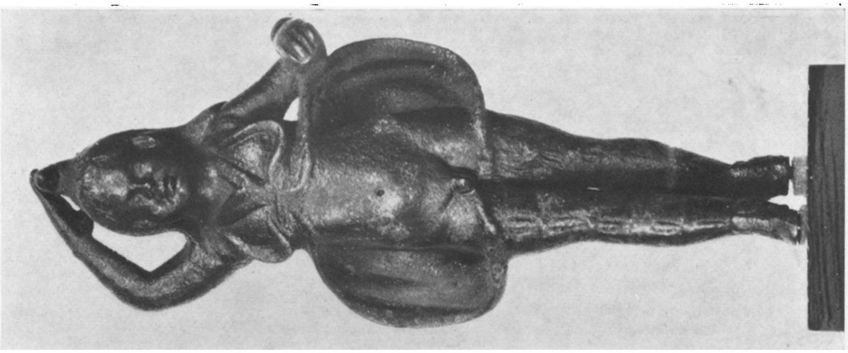

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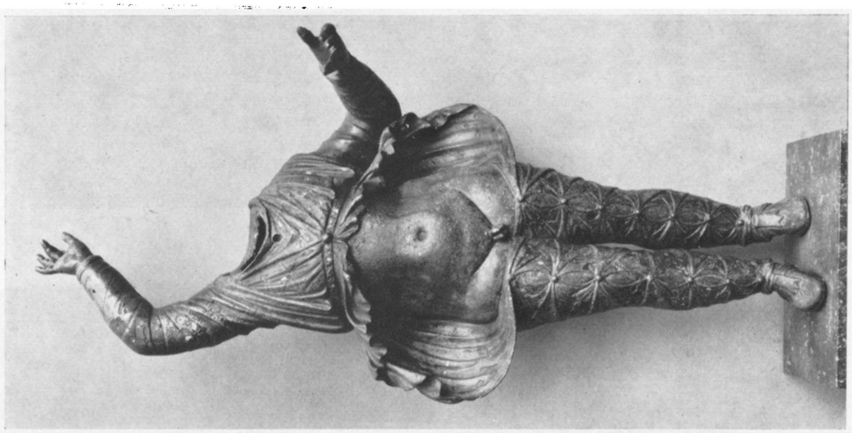

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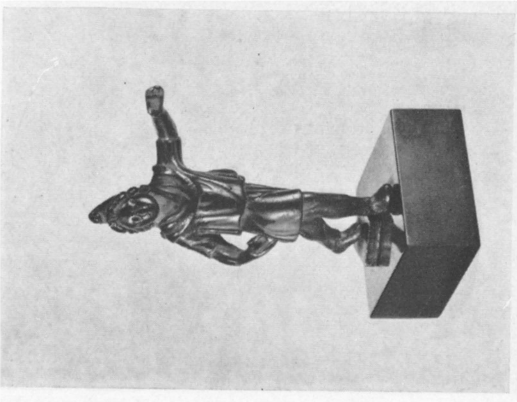

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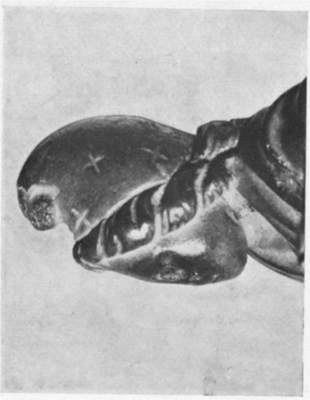

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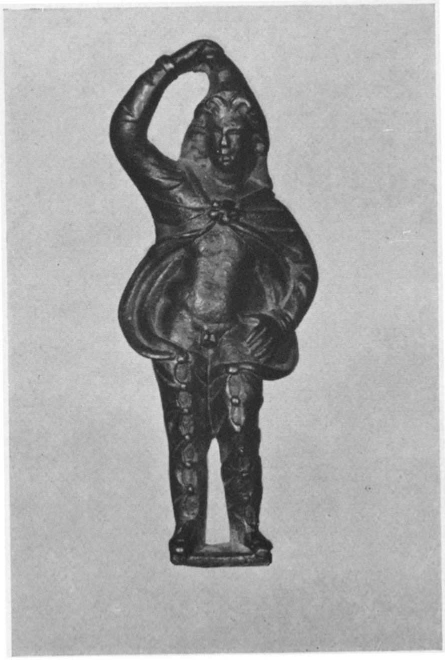

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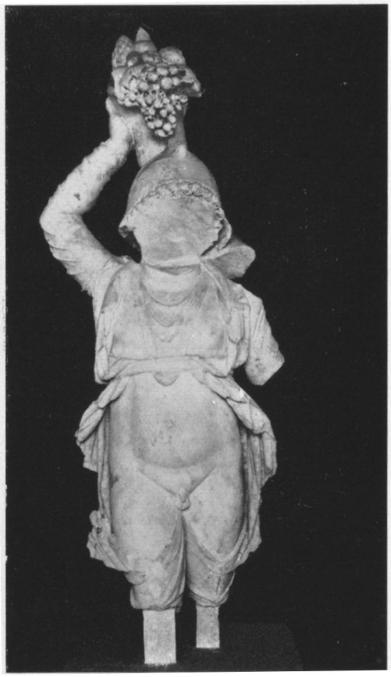

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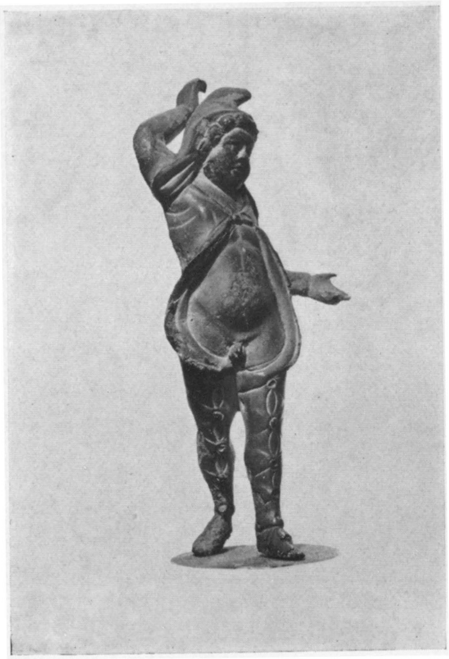

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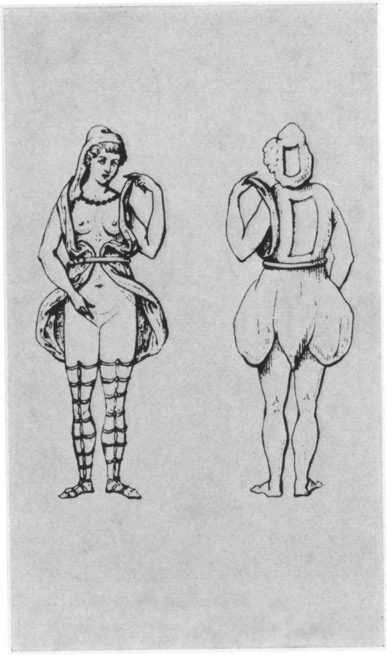

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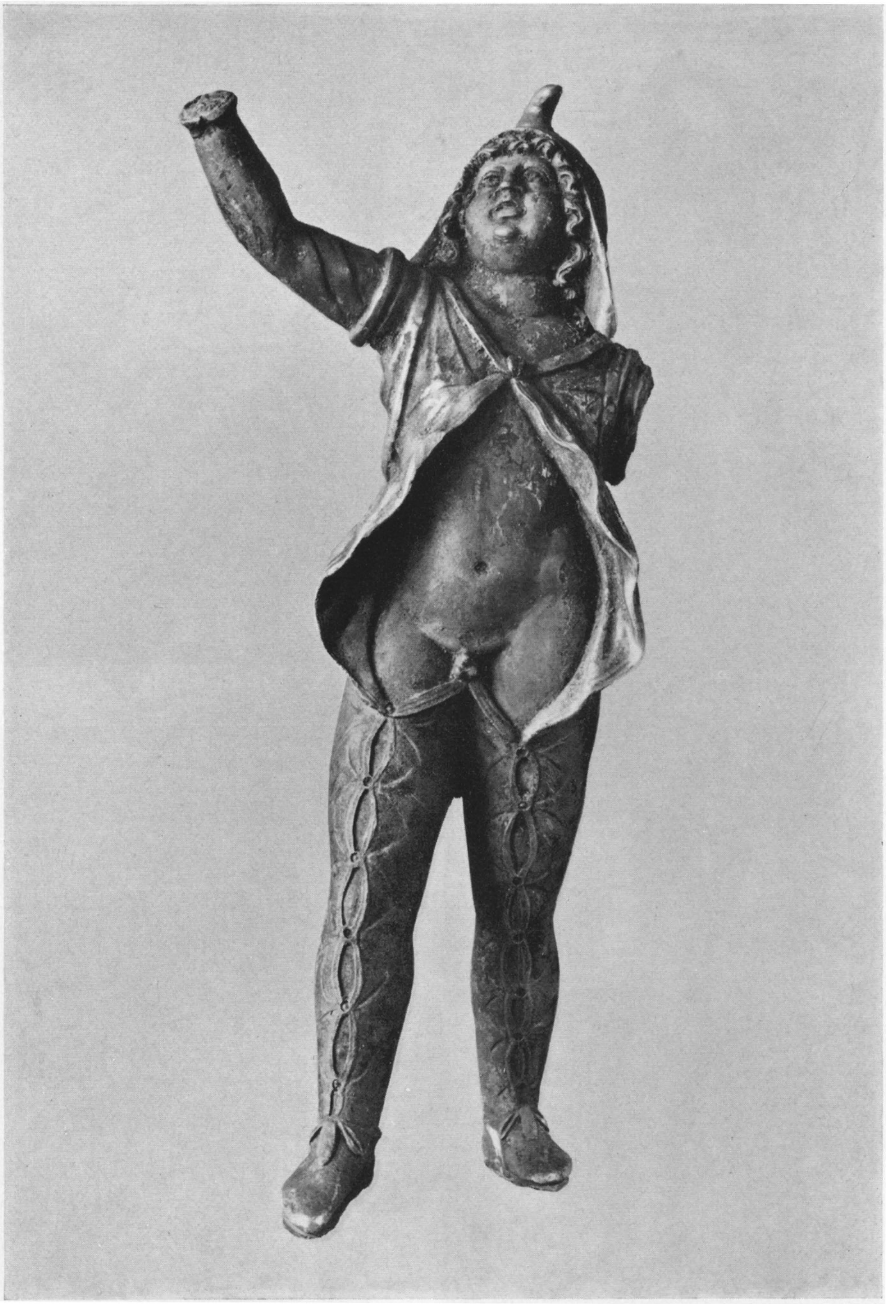

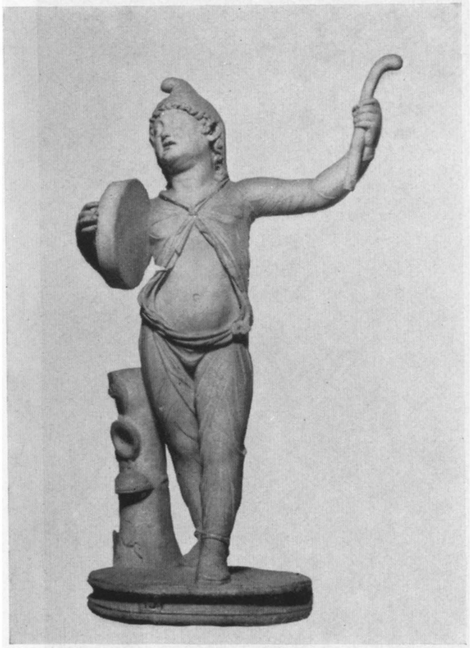

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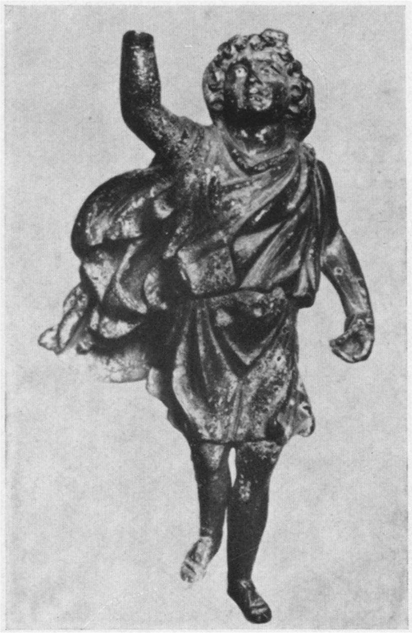

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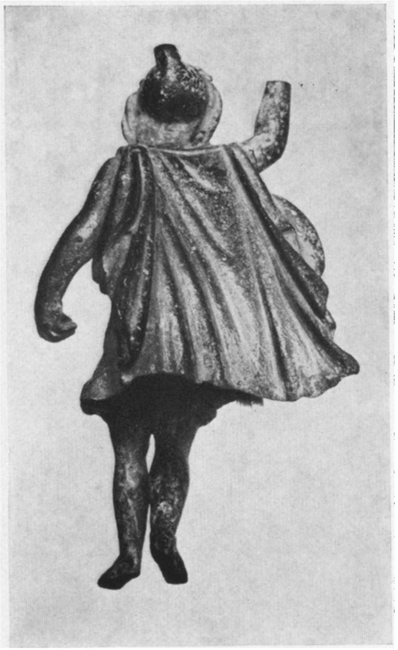

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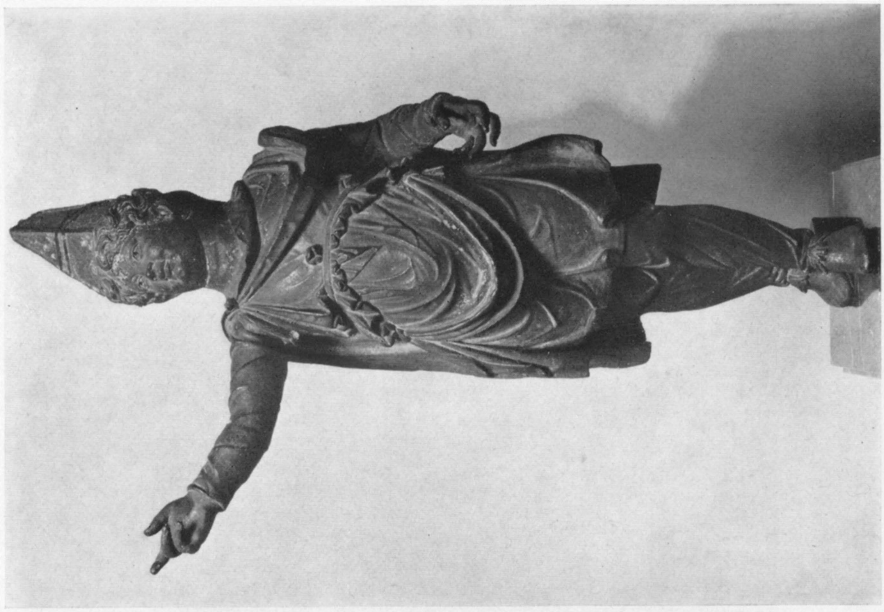
PLATE XXXVI



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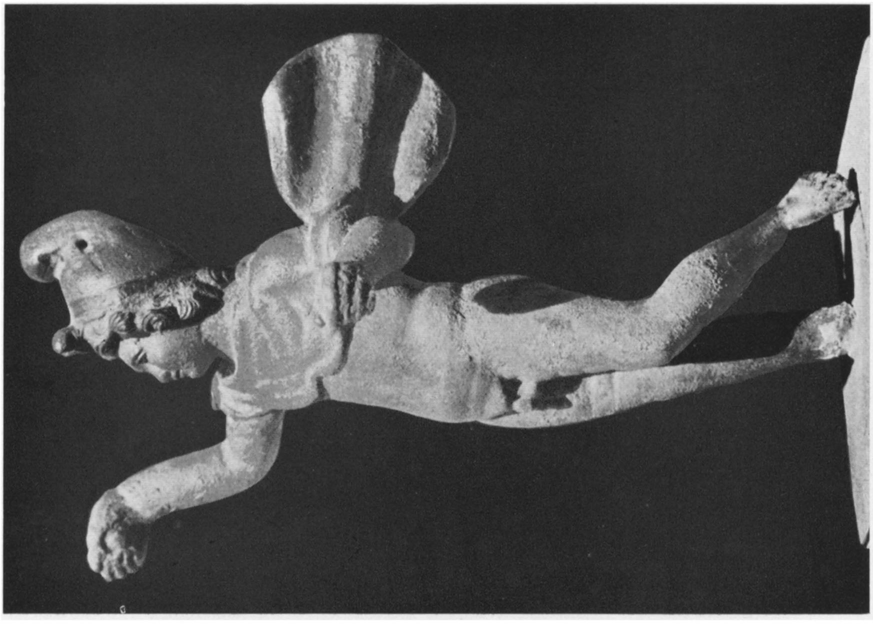

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PLATE XXXVII

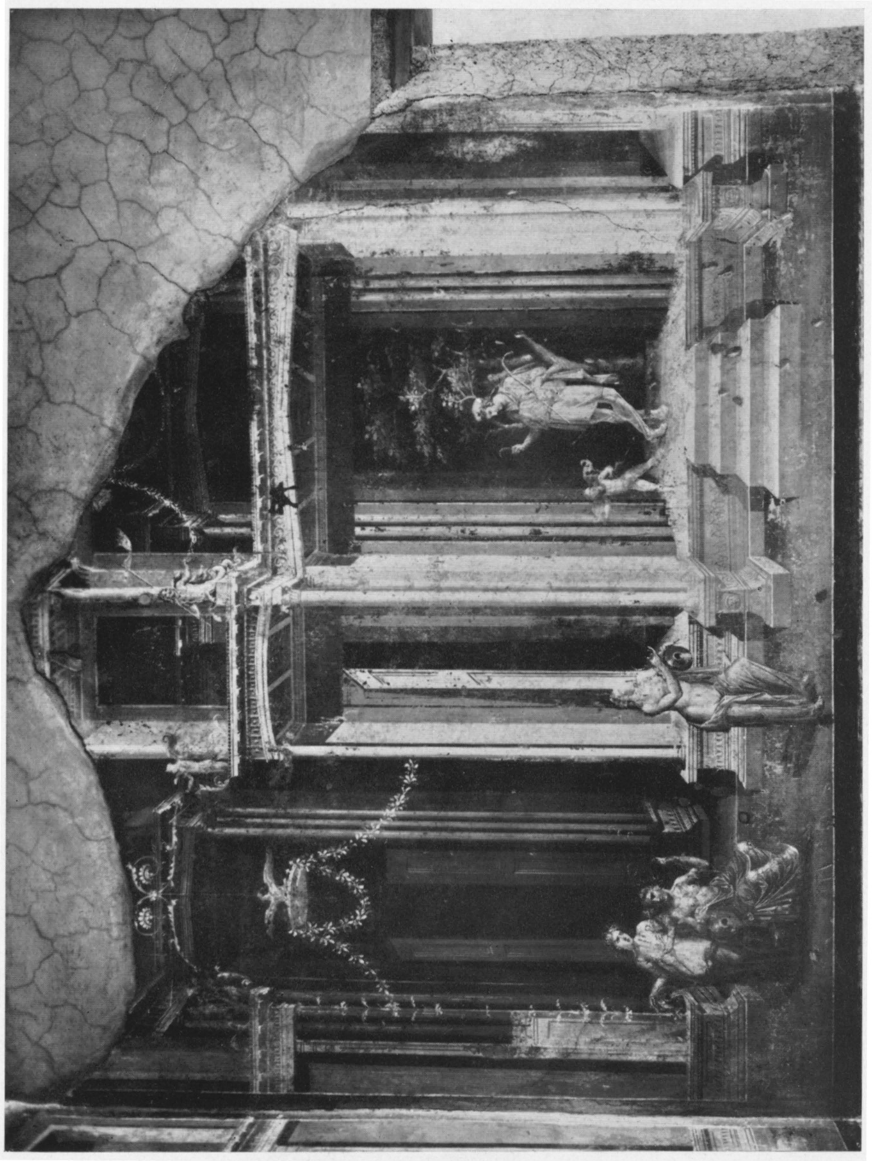
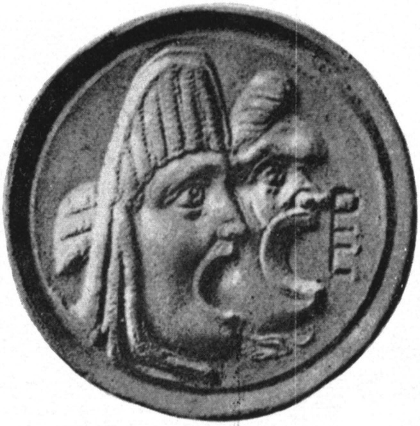
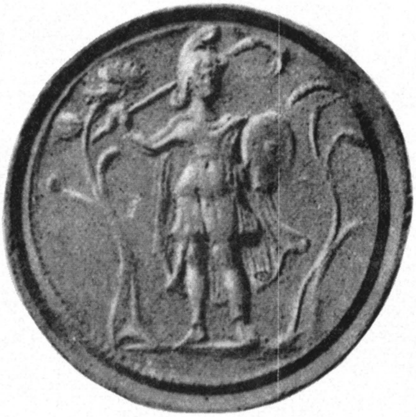


PLATE XXXVIII





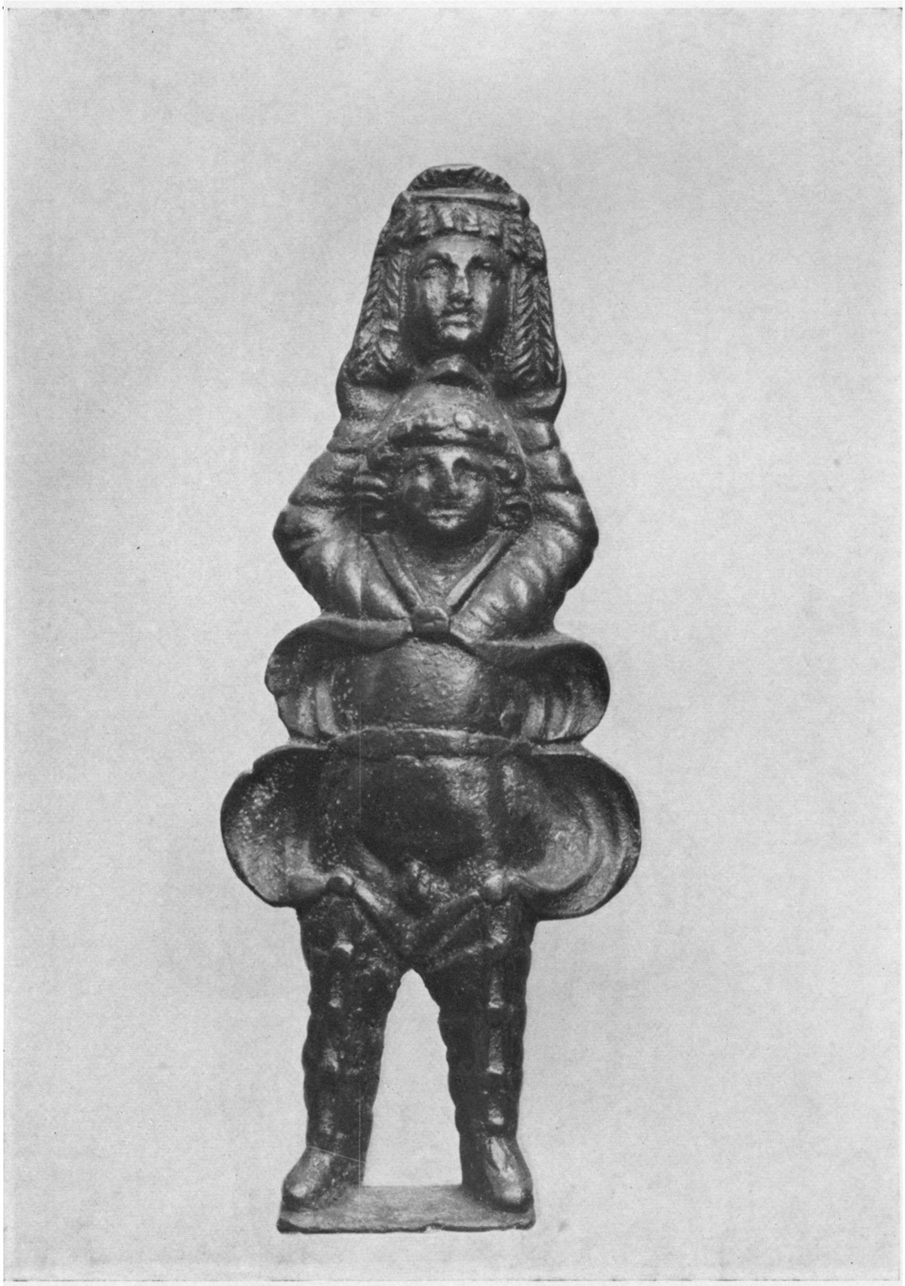


PLATE XL